

NATIONAL REVIEW

SIXTIETH-ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

LET'S FACE IT: UNLIKE VIENNA, IT SEEMS ALTOGETHER POSSIBLE THAT DID NATIONAL REVIEW NOT EXIST, NO ONE WOULD HAVE INVENTED IT. THE LAUNCHING OF A CONSERVATIVE WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION IN A COUNTRY WIDELY ASSUMED TO BE A BASTION OF CONSERVATISM AT FIRST GLANCE LOOKS LIKE A WORK OF SUPEREROGATION, RATHER LIKE PUBLISHING A ROYALIST WEEKLY WITHIN THE WALLS OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE. IT IS NOT THAT, OF COURSE; IF NATIONAL REVIEW IS SUPERFLUOUS, IT IS SO FOR VERY DIFFERENT REASONS: IT STANDS ATHWART HISTORY, YELLING STOP, AT A TIME WHEN NO ONE IS INCLINED TO DO SO, OR TO HAVE MUCH PATIENCE WITH THOSE WHO SO URGE IT.

Elliott Abrams • Richard Brookhiser • Arthur C. Brooks • Christopher Buckley • Orson Scott Card
Mona Charen • Ross Douthat • Niall Ferguson • David Gelernter • Jonah Goldberg • Daniel Hannan
Victor Davis Hanson • Steven F. Hayward • Mark Helprin • John Howard • Paul Johnson • Garry Kasparov
Charles R. Kesler • Roger Kimball • Charles G. Koch • William Kristol • Yuval Levin • Rush Limbaugh
Rob Long • Heather Mac Donald • Andrew C. McCarthy • Wilfred M. McClay • Deirdre Nansen McCloskey
John McWhorter • John J. Miller • Charles Murray • Jay Nordlinger • P. J. O'Rourke • John O'Sullivan
Ramesh Ponnuru • Virginia Postrel • David Pryce-Jones • Matt Ridley • Natan Sharansky
Brad Thor • William Voegeli • Armond White • Kevin D. Williamson



Tap for
Table of
Contents



BRINGING HOME DOUBLE GOLD

2015 DOUBLE GOLD
SAN FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL WINE COMPETITION

2015 DOUBLE GOLD
SAN FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL WINE COMPETITION

CRU

WINE COMPANY

At the 35th Annual International Wine Competition

recently held at Hotel Nikko in downtown San Francisco, the 2012 CRU Vineyard Montage Pinot Noir won Double Gold with an impressive 94 points! Not to be outdone, a second wine in the CRU Collection of Pinot Noirs, the 2012 Richard's Pinot Noir from Santa Maria Valley, also took a Double Gold and also with 94 points.

Taste the wine that won the heart of San Francisco

Order online at cruwinecompany.com

or by calling the winery at
559-673-6372 in Madera, CA.

When in Central California, plan a visit to the beautiful CRU Wine Company tasting room.
Open daily 11 am-5 pm.



NATIONAL REVIEW

NOVEMBER 19, 2015 | VOLUME LXVII, NO. 21 | www.nationalreview.com

SIXTIETH-ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

LET'S FACE IT: UNLIKE VIENNA, IT SEEMS ALTOGETHER POSSIBLE THAT DID NATIONAL REVIEW NOT EXIST, NO ONE WOULD HAVE INVENTED IT. THE LAUNCHING OF A CONSERVATIVE WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION IN A COUNTRY WIDELY ASSUMED TO BE A BASTION OF CONSERVATISM AT FIRST GLANCE LOOKS LIKE A WORK OF SUPEREROGATION, RATHER LIKE PUBLISHING A ROYALIST WEEKLY WITHIN THE WALLS OF BUCKINGHAM PALACE. IT IS NOT THAT, OF COURSE; IF NATIONAL REVIEW IS SUPERFLUOUS, IT IS SO FOR VERY DIFFERENT REASONS: IT STANDS ATHWART HISTORY, YELLING STOP, AT A TIME WHEN NO ONE IS INCLINED TO DO SO, OR TO HAVE MUCH PATIENCE WITH THOSE WHO SO URGE IT.

FEATURES

- 8 **STILL THWARTING HISTORY**
by Yuval Levin
- 12 **THE REGULATORS' YOKE**
by Charles Murray
- 14 **CONSERVATISM AT A CROSSROADS**
by Victor Davis Hanson
- 16 **FUSIONISM, THEN AND NOW**
by Jonah Goldberg
- 22 **FAMILY: THE CRUCIAL INSTITUTION**
by Ramesh Ponnuru



- 24 **WILL WE GOVERN OURSELVES?**
by Richard Brookhiser
- 28 **A PEOPLE, NOT JUST AN IDEA**
by John O'Sullivan



- 32 **WHEN LAW BEGAN TO RULE**
by Paul Johnson
- 34 **LONG LIVE THE NATION-STATE**
by John Howard
- 38 **WHAT WOULD EISENHOWER DO?**
by Niall Ferguson
- 44 **DANGERS ON THE HORIZON**
by Mark Helprin
- 46 **OUR BUNGLED WAR ON TERROR**
by Andrew C. McCarthy
- 50 **THE APOLOGY POLICY**
by Mona Charen



- 51 **THE MIDEAST'S PLASTIC HOUR**
by David Pryce-Jones



NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 2015. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to **Editorial Dept.**, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, **Editorial Review**, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 433015, Palm Coast, Fla. 32143-3015; phone, 386-246-0118, Monday-Friday, 10:00 a.m. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: **Classified Ad Dept.**, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to NATIONAL REVIEW, Circulation Dept., P. O. Box 433015, Palm Coast, Fla. 32143-3015. Printed in the U.S.A. RATES: \$59.00 a year (24 issues). Add \$21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts; return postage or, better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

FEATURES, CONTINUED

53 BLACK AMERICA AND THE RIGHT

by John McWhorter



55 CLIMATE COERCION

by Matt Ridley

58 FREEDOM'S FRAMEWORK

by Charles G. Koch

59 THE TWITTER TRAP

by Rob Long



61 A CONSERVATIVE-MEDIA REVOLUTION

by Rush Limbaugh

62 CONTEMPORARY CLASSICAL: A LISTENING

by Jay Nordlinger



64 THE GREAT ENRICHMENT

by Deirdre Nansen McCloskey

66 THE FUTURE IS FREE

by Kevin D. Williamson

FICTION

68

NAYSAYERS

by Orson Scott Card

SECTIONS

4 Letter from the Editor

6 Editorial

84 Film: Ross Douthat examines our civilizational stagnation through the lens of Back to the Future Part II.

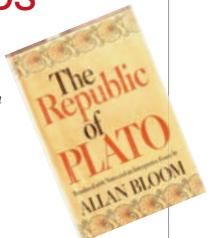
COVER: Luba Kolomytseva

BOOKS THAT SHAPED OUR MINDS

73

WILLIAM KRISTOL

The Republic of Plato, translated with notes and an interpretive essay by Allan Bloom



HEATHER MAC DONALD

How to Do Things with Words, by J. L. Austin

74

ARTHUR C. BROOKS

The American Search for Economic Justice, by Peter McClelland

CHRISTOPHER BUCKLEY

Radical Chic & Mau-Mauing the Flak-Catchers, by Tom Wolfe

STEVEN F. HAYWARD

The Abolition of Man, by C. S. Lewis

75

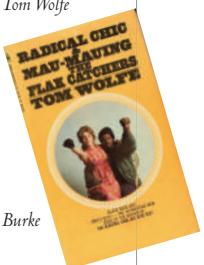
VIRGINIA POSTREL

Knowledge and Decisions, by Thomas Sowell

76

DANIEL HANNAN

Reflections on the Revolution in France, by Edmund Burke



CHARLES R. KESLER

Did You Ever See a Dream Walking? American Conservative Thought in the Twentieth Century, edited by William F. Buckley Jr.

77

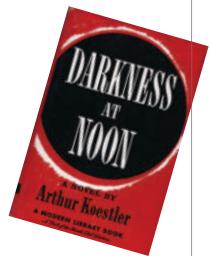
ROGER KIMBALL

Against the Idols of the Age, by David Stove, edited and with an introduction by Roger Kimball

78

JOHN J. MILLER

The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945, by George H. Nash



ELLIOTT ABRAMS

Darkness at Noon, by Arthur Koestler

79

GARRY KASPAROV

Homage to Catalonia, by George Orwell

80

NATAN SHARANSKY

"Reflections on Progress, Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom," an essay by Andrei Sakharov



WILLIAM VOEGELI

Up in the Old Hotel, by Joseph Mitchell

81

ARMOND WHITE

Nashville, directed by Robert Altman

82

WILFRED M. MCCLAY

The Leopard, by Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa

DAVID GELEHRTER

Nemesis, by Philip Roth

83

BRAD THOR

Great Expectations, by Charles Dickens



P. J. O'ROURKE

Lord of the Flies, by William Golding



We are 60,000 American workers.
Exploring new ways to move you forward.

WEAREKoch.com



K KOCH™



NOVEMBER 19 ISSUE; PRINTED OCTOBER 29



Text

Thankful at Sixty

EDITOR
Richard Lowry
Senior Editors

Richard Brookhiser / Jonah Goldberg / Jay Nordlinger
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones

Managing Editor Jason Lee Steorts

Literary Editor Michael Potemra

Vice President, Editorial Operations Christopher McEvoy
Washington Editor Eliana Johnson

Executive Editor Reihan Salam

Roving Correspondent Kevin D. Williamson

National Correspondent John J. Miller

Senior Political Correspondent Jim Geraghty

Art Director Luba Kolomytseva

Deputy Managing Editors

Nicholas Frankovich / Fred Schwarz

Production Editor Katie Hosmer

Assistant to the Editor Rachel Ogden

Research Associate Alessandra Trouwborst

Contributing Editors

Shannen Coffin / Ross Douthat / Roman Genn
Arthur L. Herman / Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow
Mark R. Levin / Yuval Levin / Rob Long
Mario Loyola / Jim Manzi / Andrew C. McCarthy
Kate O'Beirne / Andrew Stuttaford / Robert VerBruggen

NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE
Managing Editors Katherine Connell / Edward John Craig
National-Affairs Columnist John Fund

Staff Writers Charles C. W. Cooke / David French

Senior Political Reporter Alexis Levinson

Political Reporters Brendan Bordelon / Joel Gehrman

Reporter Katherine Timpf

Associate Editors

Nat Brown / Molly Powell / Nick Tell

Digital Director Ericka Anderson

Assistant Editor Mark Antonio Wright

Editorial Associate Christine Sisto

Technical Services Russell Jenkins

Web Editorial Assistant Grant DeArmitt

Web Developer Wendy Wehs

Web Producer Scott McKim

EDITORS-AT-LARGE

Linda Bridges / Kathryn Jean Lopez / John O'Sullivan

NATIONAL REVIEW INSTITUTE
BUCKLEY FELLOWS IN POLITICAL JOURNALISM
Elaina Plott / Ian Tuttle

Contributors

Hadley Arkes / James Bowman / Eliot A. Cohen
Dinesh D'Souza / Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter / George Gilder
Jeffrey Hart / Kevin A. Hassett / Charles R. Kesler
David Klinghoffer / Anthony Lejeune / D. Keith Mano
Michael Novak / Alan Reynolds / Tracy Lee Simmons
Terry Teachout / Vin Weber

Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilberg

Accounting Manager Galina Veygman

Accountant Lyudmila Bolotinskaya

Business Services

Alex Batey / Alan Chiu

Circulation Manager Jason Ng

Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd

Advertising Director Jim Fowler

Advertising Manager Kevin Longstreet

Assistant to the Publisher Brooke Rogers

Director of Revenue Erik Netcher

Vice President, Communications Amy K. Mitchell

PUBLISHER CHAIRMAN

Jack Fowler John Hillen

FOUNDER

William F. Buckley Jr.

PATRONS AND BEFECTORS

Robert Agostinelli

Mr. and Mrs. Michael Conway

Mark and Mary Davis

Virginia James

Christopher M. Lantrip

Brian and Deborah Murdock

Peter J. Travers

IF memory serves, I first heard about NATIONAL REVIEW watching *Firing Line* in the 1980s. I went down to the local drugstore looking for a copy, and to my chagrin it carried *The New Republic*, not NR. I had to resort to my high-school library, where they had copies in those old hard vinyl binders. The first issue I remember had a cover story on the Kissinger Commission on Central America (not exactly the most alluring subject matter).

As was the case for so many of our readers (some of them share their stories of their first copy of the magazine in this issue), NR was an education. An earnestly active reader, I underlined what seemed the most important bits. Whenever I didn't understand something, I took it as a challenge, not an affront. I used NR as a bibliography for a conservative education, finding my way to Henry Hazlitt, C. S. Lewis, Whittaker Chambers, and others through its pages.

I kept each issue as if it were a collectible and steadily built my pile of NRs. We occasionally get calls from subscribers who have done the same thing and ask whether we have some use for the years' worth of issues they have accumulated. (In case you are wondering: If they are from before 2000, yes, we do.)

For me, and for so many of you, NR is more than a magazine. It is a cause and a community. With this issue, we mark 60 years of our joint enterprise, undertaken with you, our readers.

We interrupt our regularly scheduled programming—this issue has no Week, no columns, and no book reviews—to mark the occasion with dozens of interesting and brilliant people writing about our civilization and our politics, as well as their own intellectual development.

If there is a sense of being embattled to much of it, that's to be expected. Our situation isn't as dire as it was in the Cold War, when we were facing down nuclear-armed totalitarianism, but it is dire in different ways. Liberty, the rule of law, and high cultural standards aren't inevitable or even natural, at least to judge by the experience of most of human history, and will always be under threat from enemies foreign and domestic.

Our defense of them should be high-spirited—always clear-eyed, but never depressive. Bill Buckley liked to say that to despair is a sin.

One of his most important themes was gratitude. This is as good a time as any for me to express some of my own: Thank-you to all of you for reading, and—to many of you—for contributing above and beyond the price of a subscription to keep us afloat; thank-you to all of our editors and other staff, who make it possible to put the magazine to bed fortnightly and publish constantly online; thank-you to our publisher, Jack Fowler, who has the heart of an angel and the accent of a cop from Bronx Precinct 52, and who has poured himself into NR for 25 years now; and thank-you to our writers—they have ensured that my education via the pages of NR has never ended.

When Bill Buckley was still with us, I made a point of occasionally dropping him a note thanking him for the privilege of editing his baby. You will sometimes hear sports enthusiasts say that when they get into sports as a profession—say, a baseball fan joins a team's front office—the game loses some of its charm. But I have never entirely lost the sense of wonder at this little magazine that I felt when I first discovered it decades ago.

—RICH LOWRY

H.R.9 AND S.1137
WILL

SLAP ★ ★ ★ A ★ ★ HIRING FREEZE ON AMERICA

WHY LIMIT THIS COUNTRY'S ABILITY TO CREATE JOBS? THE PATENT ACT AND INNOVATION ACT WILL WEAKEN INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY PROTECTIONS FOR ALL PATENT HOLDERS AND OPEN THE DOOR TO FOREIGN KNOCKOFFS. AS INVENTORS BECOME UNABLE TO ENFORCE JOB-SPURRING PROPERTY RIGHTS, AMERICA'S COMPETITIVE EDGE DULLS. WE ALL WILL FEEL THE PAIN.

TELL CONGRESS TO OPPOSE
H.R.9 AND S.1137

SAVE THE
AMERICAN
INVENTOR

VISIT SAVETHEINVENTOR.COM



Onward

SIXTY years ago, WFB said of this brand-new dispensation into the Constitution. Fifty-six million human beings have been consumed by the abortion Moloch. After a generation of legalized abortion, polls show sentiment turning against it, even among the young. Will it take another generation to had better ideas and practical suggestions for achieving them before we stop bleeding lives, and humanity?

How much has been achieved. The Republican party, the all-Although the world is free of an international Communist too-human vessel of most conservative politicking, is more movement, China (still Communist) and Russia (now Putinist) conservative than at any time since the 1920s, possibly more like amoral great powers. More dangerous, because intelligent than at any time since the Civil War, and, in terms constrained by ordinary calculations of survival, is Islamist of offices held, in Congress and state capitals, impressively error. The Soviet Union never killed 3,000 Americans in one successful. In the world of high-end deep thinking, the morning. A nuclear-armed Iran or a nuclear-armed ISIS may aged economy envisaged by John Maynard Keynes is no longer the universally accepted ideal, and socialism is not theeds a large, silent military and a foreign-policy establishment Great Good Place where economists keep their conscienceshat knows who our enemies are.

Careful reasoning and painful experience have taught useful lessons. Most important, the Soviet Union and its Eastern European empire—what NR called back in 1955 “the century’s most blatant force of satanic utopianism”—is a memory, having ended even before the century did. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and Lech Walesa, Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin and John Paul II played major roles in this astonishing denouement. We played our own role, smaller but vital.

At 60, people start thinking of early retirement. NR does not have that luxury. Old challenges remain or have mutated, while new ones arise.

Because error is evergreen, the economics of Santa Claus still wins votes. As we go to press, one candidate in the Democratic presidential race calls himself a socialist while another smiles and calls herself progressive. Conservatives meanwhile must consider how a free society can find productive work for the mass of men and women who are not and never will be tech-savvy. Too many in the business community would say: We live in an age of faith. The Catholic Church has been ener Import foreign workers, who will labor for even less. But gized by recent popes, and the worldwide Evangelical revival is not an option for a republican citizenry. continues. (Mainline Protestant churches and Eastern Orthodoxy

There may be more freedom and variety at the heights of certain academic disciplines, but the mass of the teaching respectively.) Islam too partakes of the revival, in noxious fession, from college on down, is in bondage to a crazed ethnos, leaving a trail of corpses—most of them Christian—at its of sexual and racial favoritism. It uses the language of equality, and—when Sunnis battle Shiites—within. Sectors of but seeks to create a patchwork of fiefdoms, like Bantustansto Western world meanwhile give themselves to pseudo-apartheid-era South Africa. Student debt may bring collegesreligions—Earth worship and, among a handful of contrarian, but will the survivors in the rubble know better? ans, the new atheism. Religious conflict is generally deadly,

The election of a black president has done nothing for radixconfusing. healing. The more Americans talk about race, the less they saySo every other week in print, and daily online. Even as the black population shrinks relative to the wholeNR will try to sort it all out—and to have a good laugh, and remains the political property of turf-protectors and hustlers to honor beauty and poetry when we find them. Why not be in while conservatives have hardly tried appealing to it (and what spirits, when we enjoy the support of our readers, the free-benefit, in the short run, is there?). dom in America to do what we do, and the grace of God for both

layboy magazine, two years our senior, announced that it will no longer run pictures of naked women. That is because doing so is now superfluous, the sexual revolution having become an empire, omnipresent and unshakeable. Neither culture nor law any longer respects the ideal that children deserve a father and a mother, and the Supreme Court has read the



EDITOR'S NOTE: The next issue of NATIONAL REVIEW will appear in three weeks.

—The Editors



AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL FOUNDATION

Peace Through Strength

Peace Through Strength®

www.ascfusa.org



A CLARION CALL:

RE-INSTITUTE A NATIONAL STRATEGY AND POLICY OF "PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH"

A message from Brigadier General Donald B. Smith, U.S. Army (Ret.) and the American Security Council Foundation

A **Clarion Call** to arms to urge our national leaders to re-institute a national strategy of *Peace Through Strength*.

As we approach a very special time of year, which includes Veterans Day, Thanksgiving, and the Hanukkah/Christmas holiday season, we should count our blessings that we live in the United States of America, the beacon of freedom, hope, and justice. Our quality of life and standard of living is the envy of the world. The United States is a 239-year-old experiment in democracy that has set the bar for the peaceful expression of human liberty. We have achieved this by adhering to the sacred principles laid down by our forefathers in our founding document, the Declaration of Independence, and our governing document, the United States Constitution.

However, as the Chairman of the Board of the American Security Council Foundation, I am deeply concerned that our beloved country is meandering down the wrong road. Our standard of living is sagging, and our freedoms are under increasing assault. People are losing faith in the government that has led us down this troubling path.

Let me share with you a few examples of why I am so concerned.

How can the United States turn its back on our greatest ally in the Middle East, Israel, and negotiate a fatally flawed nuclear deal with our greatest regional adversary, Iran, that puts our national security at risk and makes our people less safe?

How can the United States allow Russian President Vladimir Putin and the communist leadership of China assume preeminent roles in international relations, overshadowing U.S. global leadership?

How can a great nation continue to outlive its means to the extent that the national debt is approaching 20 trillion dollars?

How can the greatest country in the history of mankind cut its military strength to pre-World War II levels when the world is increasingly unstable and international terrorists are gaining more capability to commit acts of terror right here in our homeland?

"We the People" must take control of our country, stop apologizing for American exceptionalism, and reassert U.S. global leadership. We must set an example for other countries to join us in the fruits of a free market economy, while also building in safeguards to protect the less fortunate in our society.

The United States needs to stop apologizing and start leading. We must return to the strategy of *Peace Through Strength* under which Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush brought about the collapse of the Soviet Union and victory in the Cold War. We urgently need to reshape our foreign and defense policies based on the four pillars of economic strength, diplomatic strength, military strength, and moral leadership.

The American Security Council Foundation urges all Americans to contact their members of Congress and to remind them of the importance of a strong military. We must urge them to stop crippling defense cuts, and to take action to insure that the United States of America continues to foster the best equipped, the best trained and best led military in the entire world.

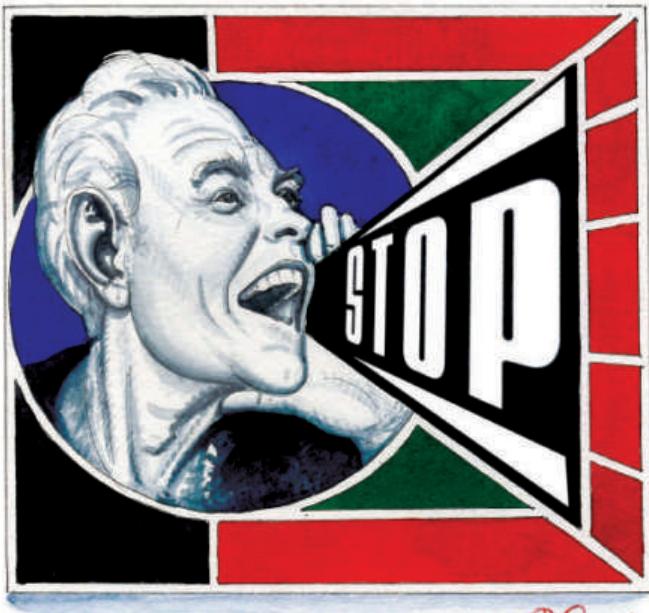
We urge you to join the American Security Council Foundation in reinstating a national strategy and foreign policy of *Peace Through Strength*. America's best days can still be ahead of us, and the United States can remain the beacon of freedom, hope and justice for the entire world. Let's all work together to keep America free and strong!

Approved by the Board of Directors of the American Security Council Foundation

Donald B. Smith
Brigadier General, U.S. Army (Ret.)
Chairman of the Board

Dr. Henry A. Fischer
President & CEO

Frederick J. Kroesen
General, U.S. Army (Ret.)
1st Vice President



YUVAL LEVIN

Still Thwarting History



Text

WHEN he launched NATIONAL REVIEW 60 years ago, William F. Buckley Jr. famously declared an intention not to make history but to halt it. The magazine, he asserted, "stands athwart history, yelling 'Stop!'" We conservatives know this old quip so well that we actually say, "on the right side of history," and that steps along the rarely stop to take it seriously. And we know, too, that simply stopping the Left was never the sum of Buckley's ambitions, and could never be enough for us. But although it was not all that modern conservatism was born to do, defying the notion that the arc of history bends left has always been an important part of our mission on the right, and it matters today as much as ever.

In the era of NR's birth, conservatives confronted a liberalism that was insufferably arrogant in a particular way: It took itself to be in confident possession of the only reliable vision of the future and so to be working merely to hasten its inevitable victory. In 1955, this conceit still carried the unmistakable stench of its Marxist origins, and so still hinted, if vaguely, at a historical forces (with a capital "H") that possessed their own independent trajectory. An immense array of ponderous pseudo-philosophical paraphernalia was still employed in the pose to add some missing piece to the social-democratic effort to make the case for such forces seem profound. And serious conservatives at mid century devoted much energy to com-

bating that lingering belief in determinism and the disdain it evinced for human liberty.

Six decades later, conservatives might be forgiven for imagining that at least that particular battle has been won. Communism is essentially extinguished, and almost no one outside the senior leadership of the British Labour party now admits to looking back upon it fondly. Precocious teenagers don't impress one another by opining on false consciousness. Even in the most liberal precincts of the academy, earnest determinism has mostly been replaced by technocratic swagger or an easygoing decadence—serious but lesser vices. Frenchmen prophesying class conflict are still adored without being read, but surely "History" is no longer our nemesis.

And yet perhaps we shouldn't be so sure. In America, where outright socialism (let alone Communism) never fully took root, the Left has long been essentially welfare-statist in practice, which means its confidence in history has not been about class struggle, exactly, but about a sense of where the relationship between the state and the people was headed. American liberals have long been guided, at least implicitly, by what we might now call the ideal of social democracy.

This ideal holds that the market economy must be meticulously managed by strict regulation and its consequences addressed by robust transfers. From birth to death, citizens should be ensconced in a series of protections and benefits: universal child care, universal health care, universal public schooling and higher education, welfare benefits for the poor, generous labor protections for workers, dexterous management of the levers of the economy to ease the cycles of boom and bust, skillful direction of public funds to spur private productivity and efficiency. Each will be overseen by a competent and rational bureaucracy, and the whole will make for a system that is not only beneficent but unifying and dignifying, and that enables the pursuit of common national goals while also liberating individuals from oppressive social strictures and from a crippling material dependence on family and community.

This vision has implicitly shaped our politics for most of the past century. Much of it has been enacted, but not all, and of course with decidedly mixed results. The Left has long acted on the premise that advocates of this view are, as liberals sometimes say, "on the right side of history," and that steps along the social-democratic trajectory constitute progress while steps in any other direction amount to retrenchment.

Liberals have been in the habit of thinking this way for so long that they take the social-democratic vision for granted and to defend our welfare state as though it were identical to the broad objectives

The **BEST PROTECTION** against CYBERATTACKS.



TOTAL'S LAYERED DEFENSE!

We live in an uncertain and dangerous world. Today, every organization is vulnerable and can be unexpectedly victimized by increasingly sophisticated hackers and malware through data breaches, phishing and cyberattacks.

Total's Layered Defense Team deploys multiple tools, policies and procedures in a comprehensive, fully integrated cybersecurity solution. Our Layered Defense ensures data availability and integrity, maintains confidentiality and maximizes protection of your company's invaluable assets...your data.

No IT company takes cybersecurity more seriously. No IT company does it better. Speak to us in complete confidence about your organization's cybersecurity and what Total's Layered Defense can achieve. **888-777-8093.**



Customer-Tailored IT Solutions



Total Technology Solutions
1895 Walt Whitman Road
Melville, NY 11747 USA
631-777-7477
www.total.us.com

next steps and the reactions of conservatives and the broader industrial giants and homogenizing mass media would require a public as a test of seriousness.

The economics underlying that approach was always dubious, government of large, bureaucratic institutions of administration. But because the social-democratic vision blurs the distinction between means and ends, the Left advances an agenda that and the approach's implications for civil society and individual demands an extraordinary level of confidence in the competence liberty were always ominous, but in that era, this program could of government yet does not defend that confidence. In fact, it easily have seemed like the shape of the future. generally does not advance an argument for itself at all. The In every realm of our national life except for politics, though, American Left has long since settled into a comfortable blindwe now think about the future not in terms of consolidated insti-

Conservatives will need to treat liberal claims to speak for history and progress with the contempt they deserve.

faith in its agenda, and the very absence of a theory of administration's expertly managing vast, uniform systems but in terms of tration underlying that agenda is sometimes offered as proof of decentralized networks' offering customized solutions while its pragmatism.

Yet the prescriptions of our social democrats are far from end of World War II, our culture and economy have fractured, pragmatic. They call for centralized regulation and administra-liberalized, and decentralized. For good and bad, they are in tion of vast swaths of American life, require public spending increasingly rooted in the ethic of expressive individualism and levels that are plainly unaffordable, and assume a degree of public the epistemology of distributed knowledge. confidence in our national institutions that we have not seen in A politics that kept up with these changes would not attempt half a century. Indeed, this is what now stands out most about the concentrate more power in vast administrative institutions social-democratic vision that implicitly guides the American but would seek to disperse it in ways that made for more-Left: Although it offers itself as a vision of the future, it is responsive, adaptive government. It would not build programs anachronism. It is how the past used to think about the future. that required great public trust in our institutions which

The social-democratic vision was born in the age of industri-trust is at historic lows. It would not assault the mediating insti- alization, when, in our economy and culture, everything was tutions of local authority and civil society but would empower becoming bigger and more consolidated. It was only natural, atem to counteract the dangers of our diffusing economic order century ago, to think that an America increasingly dominated byand dissolving social norms. We are failing to do all of this,

remaining subject to individual choice. In the decades since the

because the Left too often clings to the notion that the future must look like it did in the past and because the Right too often abides the idea that our political life is a recurring yes-or-no question about social democracy.

To do better, conservatives will need to treat liberal claims to speak for history and progress with the contempt they deserve: to mock them, as Buckley did, and to offer America a theoretical and practical alternative, as the magazine he founded has done for three score years. Conservatives today are uniquely well positioned to do this, since we incline to the dispersal of power, we value civil society's mediating institutions, and we harbor great skepticism about both centralization and hyper-individualism.

We have, in other words, the disposition toward government that underlies our constitutional system. Progressivism arose in opposition to that disposition and that system, which the Left believed were hopelessly out of date. But history, it turns out, has been kinder to this constitutional vision than to the confidence of the historicists. And a Constitution-minded conservatism therefore stands once again to be a force for modernization in American life through the reinvigoration of our system of government and the recovery of the insights and instincts that undergird it.

It is a modernization that America now badly needs, and toward which conservatives should now exert ourselves. Our chief obstacle will be progressives who stand athwart our path yelling "History!"

NR

MY FIRST ISSUE OF NR

I first picked up a copy of NATIONAL REVIEW as a Cornell undergraduate, when I got sick of the rantings of my self-professed Marxist economics professor. (He also caused me to investigate the Chicago and the Austrian schools of economics.)

Finding NATIONAL REVIEW (and the NR

- ulletin

, which appeared between regular issues) did not help my grade-point average. I went to the library to read prior issues, beginning with Vol. 1, No. 1. When I resumed attending classes, up to date on NR, two weeks had passed, and I was behind in my courses. No permanent harm done, though; I still got into grad school (just barely).

Bill Buckley, Russell Kirk, and Will Herberg all visited the campus during my time there, and a local Young Americans for Freedom chapter was formed in response to the perceived stuffiness and ineffectiveness of "the gentlemen of the Right," i.e., the Cornell Conservative Club, which actually had tuxedo dinners with a guy playing Bach on the violin. Guys like me from East St. Louis felt a little out of place.

RICHARD REED
BELLAIRE, TEXAS



WERE YOU THERE?

RECORD CROWD OF 2,500 ATTENDED
“THE GREATEST LIBERTARIAN SHOW ON EARTH”

“It was like Christmas in July!” – Attendee



Top Presidential Candidates receive national TV coverage



Senator Marco Rubio addresses a packed house



Dream Debate of the Century
Steve Moore vs. Paul Krugman



Billionaire business leaders provide real solutions to world problems

Steve Forbes, John Mackey, Peter Thiel, Andy Puzder (Carl's Jr/Hardees)

John Stossel interviews Steve Wynn

Over 250 speakers, panels, and debates. All the major think tanks and freedom organizations (Reason, Cato, Heritage, Students for Liberty, FreedomWorks, etc.) 3-day investment conference. Anthem film festival.

To order audio CDs and MP3s, go to miracleofamerica.com

TWO MAJOR EVENTS PLANNED FOR 2016

GLOBAL FINANCIAL SUMMIT

March 16-19, 2016

Atlantis Resort, Nassau, the Bahamas
All-star Investment Gurus
Geo-Political Experts
Keynote speaker: Steve Moore

gfs.freedomfest.com freedomfest.com

“Early bird” discounts available for both conferences if you register before January 15

FREEDOMFEST

July 13-16, 2016

Planet Hollywood, Las Vegas
Theme: Freedom Rising
Over 250 speakers, Panels and Debates, our 10th year!

REGISTER TODAY!

Call toll-free **1-855-850-FREE** (3733) or register online at freedomfest.com



CHARLES MURRAY



Text

The Regulators' Yoke

EARLIER this year, I published a book called “*By the People*” that laid out a plan for systematic civil disobedience of stupid and pointless regulations. It presents a subversive position. The rule of law is the foundation of those rights explicitly mentioned in the Constitution and its amendments. It is especially important for those of us who are freedom-loving Americans. It is only through the rule of law that our rights can be protected—a truth that John Locke stated with conviction: “Wherever law ends, tyranny begins.” To advocate interpretation of “commerce” so that the commerce clause becomes anything you feel like clause.

I have been led to this position by what I believe about where America stands: The federal government is no longer “us” but “them.” It is no longer an extension of the people through their elected representatives. It is no longer a

*Mr. Murray is the W. H. Brady Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. This essay draws on his book *By the People: Rebuilding Liberty without Permission*.*

republican bulwark against the arbitrary use of power. It has become an entity unto itself, separated from the American people and beyond the effective control of the political process. In this situation, the foundational principles of our nation come into play: The government does not command the blind allegiance of the citizenry. Government is instituted to protect our unalienable rights. The more destructive it becomes of those rights, the less it can call upon our allegiance.

I won’t try to lay out the whole case for concluding that duty of allegiance has been radically diminished—that takes a few hundred pages. But let me summarize the ways in which the federal government has not simply become bigger and more intrusive since Bill Buckley founded *NATIONAL REVIEW*, but has also become “them,” and no longer an extension of “us.”

In 1955, the *yeatNATIONAL REVIEW* was born, the federal government’s domestic spending (i.e., the total budget minus spending on defense and interest on the national debt) came to \$187 billion in today’s dollars. It was a small amount, comparatively speaking—domestic spending in 2014 is budgeted at \$3 trillion. The Code of Federal Regulations had 17,989 pages in 1955, less than a tenth of the number of pages today. But the numbers do not begin to convey how small a role the federal government played in national life in 1955 compared with today. It had no role whatsoever in K–12 education and hardly any in higher education. It provided no support for and exerted no control over, state and local law enforcement. Federal policy toward the family? Toward the practice of religion? In 1955, the idea that the federal government could have “policies” on such topics didn’t occur to most Americans. To get a sense of how small a role the federal government still played in business as of 1955, consider that only a handful of corporations maintained any sort of presence in Washington, D.C.

But even though the actual role of the federal government remained limited, its potential power had already been unleashed in ways that could not be reversed. In a handful of landmark decisions from 1937 to 1942, the Supreme Court did not merely nudge the limits of government power. It erased some of the most crucial boundaries.

In 1937 *Helvering v. Davis* explicitly held that the federal government could spend money on the “general welfare,” establishing that the government’s powers were not limited to those enumerated in the Constitution. In 1938 *Chester v. United States* did what the Ninth Amendment had been intended to prevent—it limited the rights of the American people to those explicitly mentioned in the Constitution and its amendments. Making matters worse, the Court also limited the freedoms under which it would protect even those explicitly mentioned rights. In 1946 *Zwickard v. Filburn* completed the reincarnation of the commerce clause by changing the words of federal judge Alex Kozinski, the “Holder can do anything you feel like” clause.

Momentous as these decisions were, they were arguably more crucial to the evolution of the federal government from a “us” to “them” as the decisions that led to the regulatory state. Until the 1930s, a body of jurisprudence known as the “nondelegation doctrine” had put strict limits on how much power Congress could delegate to the executive branch. The agencies of the executive branch obviously had

to be given some latitude to interpret the text of legislation years making a government salary into big bucks by but Congress was required to specify an “intelligible purpose to work as a lobby.” American government isn’t supposed whenever it passed a law that gave the executive branch work this way.

a new task. In *National Broadcasting Co. v. United States* So far, I haven’t mentioned President Obama, because the States dispensed with that requirement, holding that it alienation of people from the federal government wasn’t okay for Congress to tell the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to write regulations for broadcast during the Obama years, we have seen a change in the government licenses “as public convenience, interest, or necessity” —an undefined, and hence unintelligible, principle being fine Americans if we make an honest living and mind the people. And so we now live in a world in which Congress passes laws with grandiose goals, loosely defined, and delegatessmaking an honest living and minding our own business responsibility for interpreting those goals exclusively are told that we are selfish, greedy, racists, homophobic regulatory agencies that have no accountability to the public we haven’t the slightest internal sense that we are any zenith and only limited accountability etopresident of the of those things. The federal government has changed from United States. being a vehicle through which presidents and officials celebrate

The de facto legislative power delegated to regulate the American people to being a platform for a ruling agencies is only one aspect of their illegitimacy. Citizens clash to hector and pester us about our shortcomings. This, have not been hit with an accusation of a violation may, helps explain why so many of us have shifted from a realize how Orwellian the regulatory state has become. Broadcast loyalty to and affection for government to alien-run afoul of an agency such as the FCC and want to defend anger.

yourself, you don’t go to a regular court. You go to an administrative court run by the agency. You don’t get a jury. The

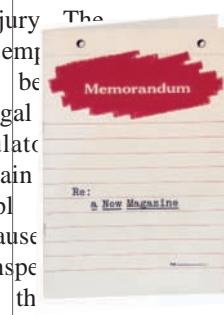
case is decided by an administrative judge who is an employee of the agency. You do not need to be found guilty beyond reasonable doubt, but rather by the loosest of all legal standards, a preponderance of the evidence. The regulatory agency is also free of many of the rules that constrain and prosecutors in the normal legal system. For example, regulatory agencies are not required to show probable cause getting a search warrant. A regulatory agency can inspect property or place of business under broad conditions that has set for itself.

There’s much more, but it amounts to this: Regulatory agencies are just some of the reasons to conclude that the federal government over the 60 years since *NATIONAL REVIEW*’s existence as self-contained entities that create de facto laws that Congress has become an entity with agendas that have nothing to do with serving the American people and everything to do with as both police and judge in enforcing the laws they have threatened the health and well-being of the federal government itself. It amounts to an extra-legal state within the state.

I have focused on the regulatory state because it now occupies the political center, put it harshly but accurately: “A group that no so large in daily life as to have provoked a reaction that longer shares basic values with the society is categorized by political divides: American government isn’t supposed to work this way.”

The normal legal system has been implicit. Laws such as Sarbanes-Oxley, the Affordable Care Act, and Dodd-Frank are so complicated that they are impossible to obey without the help of lawyers ensuring compliance. The tax code is riddled with favors for people with connections and filled with hazards of the time? Seventy-three percent of the respondents for ordinary Americans. The Department of Justice is zealous in prosecuting political adversaries but somehow doesn’t get so answered. Then that percentage began to decline, around to prosecute political friends. In the most recent poll, conducted in 2014, it had dwindled to 13 percent.

Washington now openly operates as a favors-for-money bazaar. Substitute “campaign contribution” for “bribe” and to do what is right even most of the time is obvious you can describe Washington with the same sentences that the alienation does not break along party lines. When I describe how to get things done in a Third World kleptocracy systematic civil disobedience to regain some of our Almost anything is possible if the contribution is big enough, it is not against a government that has made a few nothing is possible without attribution. “Cashing in” has unintentional missteps and should be given the benefit of the become a term of art to describe a typical career path for the civil disobedience I propose is against a federal bureaucrats, elected officials, and Capitol Hill staff—part of a government that has fully earned our distrust.



The prospectus seeking to interest investors in the new magazine, which, as WFB writes, “will forthrightly oppose the prevailing trend in public opinion” and, “indeed, [will aim] to change the nation’s intellectual and political climate.”



VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

Conservatism At a Crossroads



Text

It is the best and the worst of times for conservatives. Who believe in fiscal responsibility, smaller government, individual freedom, strong defense, and reverence for tradition. Western traditions and American customs have won both houses of Congress. Republicans enjoy strong majorities in the state legislatures and governorships. President Obama's approval ratings in the polls regularly fall below 45 percent. The public seems to tire of politically correct demagoguery, dumbing down of every issue into a matter of the noble people versus the selfish individual.

Most polls suggest that far more Americans see themselves as conservative than as liberal. Red states run much smaller budgets than blue states such as California, Illinois, and New York, or cities like Baltimore, Chicago, and Detroit, are paradigms of 21st-century good government. Abroad, statism—whether the state capitalism of China or the paternalistic socialism of the European Union—is in crisis.

But on fiscal and defense issues, conservatives remain wedded to a national debt that will soon top \$20 trillion; \$500 billion annual deficits are now hailed as proof of fiscal discipline. In foreign policy, “leading from behind” and offering a “reset” of relations with antagonistic states characterize America’s retreat from traditional post-war leadership. Chaos fills the void.

The Affordable Care Act is transforming health care from private enterprise into another government-run entitlement. Americans and perhaps Westerners in general sense that the Climate-change legislation, largely thwarted by congressional

Mr. Hanson is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and the author, most recently, of The Savior Generals.

resistance, is being implemented by executive order and by the EPA’s freelancing efforts to shut down fossil-fuel plants. Taxes have been raised—and are likely to rise again, given public reluctance to prune back unsustainable Social Security and Medicare spending.

On many social and political issues, conservatism is even further strangled. Gay marriage by judicial fiat is suddenly the law of the land and imposed intolerantly on private businesses that dare to object on religious grounds. Half the country believes in abortion on demand, despite periodic revelations of the macabre practices of a Dr. Gosnell or a Planned Parenthood. Bureaucratic regulations grow at the expense of markets and property rights. Enforcement of federal immigration laws in many states is nonexistent.

The common denominator of the new lawlessness is a perception of social justice. Perceived equality and fairness determine whether a particular law is enforced or ignored. Sanctuary cities declare themselves exempt from federal immigration laws, even though no community could renounce the Endangered Species Act or exempt itself from federal laws governing handgun purchases.

Popular American culture—and indeed Western civilization from Europe to the former British Commonwealth—is largely liberal. Progressive opponents of religion criticize a liberal pope, who admonishes his flock on everything from climate change to consumer capitalism, for being too conservative. Art, literature, music, and architecture are evaluated mostly through the prism of race, class, and gender, and according to the degree to which they contribute to progressive change and equality of outcomes.

Hollywood movies rarely reflect American values of patriotism, individual heroism, physical courage, or the defense of tradition and custom. Most American institutions—academia and the public schools, state and federal bureaucracies, the entertainment industry, journalism and the media, and philanthropic foundations—are decidedly liberal. Their creed is a government-mandated parity and equality of result, ostensibly directed against the exercise of personal choice and individual liberty. Illegitimacy and divorce rates are high, and birth rates are low.

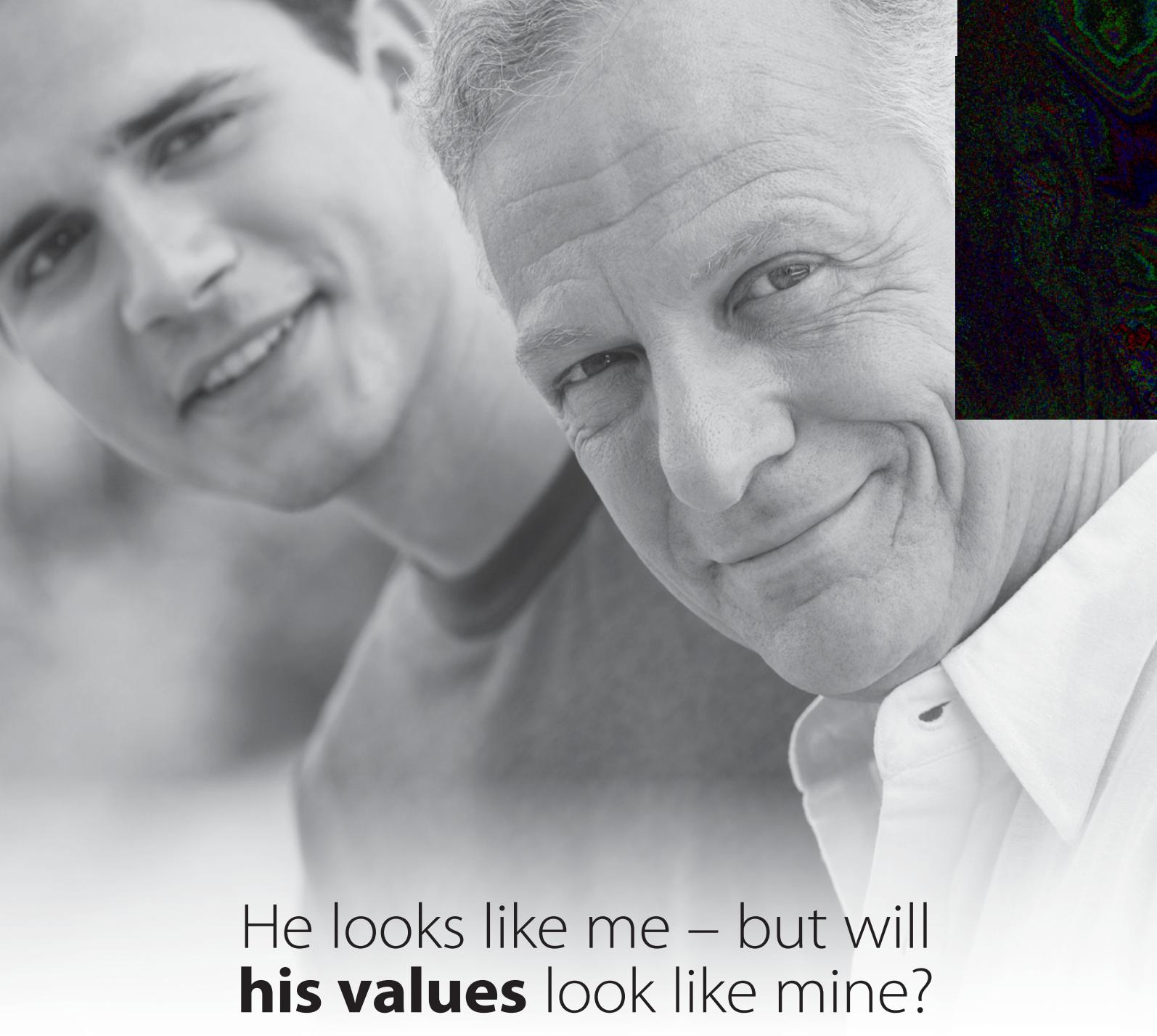
“The Life of Julia,” an Obama-campaign slideshow about cradle-

grave dependence on federal assistance, *Little House on the Prairie*, is the preferred social model. Gratuitous violence, decadence, and cruelty are the stuff of popular video games and rap music. The graphic lyrics and showmanship of Kelly Z and Miley Cyrus have replaced the upbeat messages of the century good government. Abroad, statism—whether the cronies of Four Tops and the Beach Boys; the latter had not been necessarily paternalistic socialism of the European Union—is in crisis.

Multicultural separatism, not the old American idea of a melting pot, is the norm; identity politics deliver far greater career diversity than does assimilation.

In reaction to all this, the rise of the Tea Party, constitutional conservatives, and outsider presidential candidates such as Donald Trump, Ben Carson, and Carly Fiorina may represent their culture and politics has grown, especially during the years since “The Life of Julia.”

Americans and perhaps Westerners in general sense that the government—especially the marriage of consumer capitalism with constitutionally protected freedoms—have created ostentatious wealth and hedonism that can easily descend into license and



He looks like me – but will **his values** look like mine?

DonorsTrust can help him carry out my charitable intent.

As my son grows, will he share my commitment to liberty? I hope so, but I've set up a donor-advised account at DonorsTrust to be sure. With DonorsTrust, I have the confidence that once I am no longer able to direct my charitable giving, my contributions won't go to organizations that run counter to my principles. To protect your own legacy, call us or visit donortrust.org/values.

DonorsTrust

BUILDING A LEGACY OF LIBERTY

DT Philanthropic Services • 703-535-3563 • www.donortrust.org

ennui. So powerful is the allure of the redistributive state—from convalescent care for seniors to Social Security payouts for Baby Boomers—that even conservatives don’t dare to question the expansion of government programs that are largely unfunded.

So there is a conservative awareness that the direction of the West is neither healthy nor sustainable. But solutions give way to confusion and frustration, echoing the Roman irony that the remedy is felt to be worse than the disease. Several forces contribute to this trend toward ever-increasing government services and state-mandated redistribution.

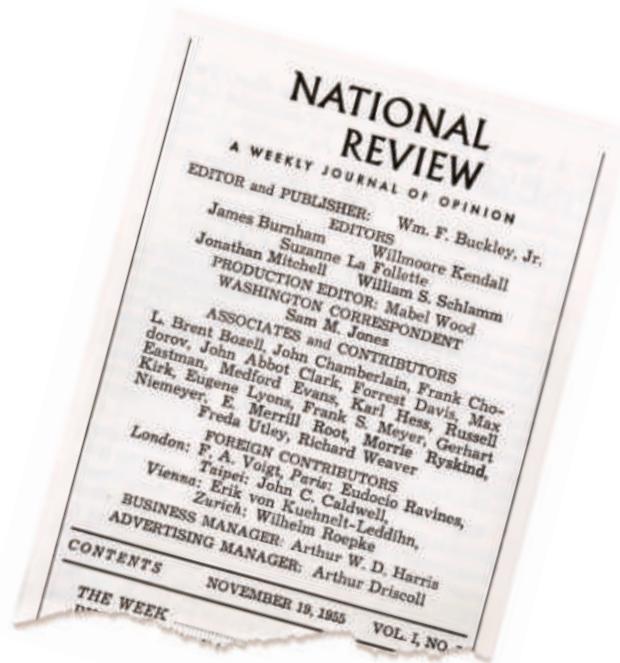
Globalization and worldwide instant communications have blurred national borders. Germans and Californians may have ample safety nets in place for their own poor. But if millions of migrants from impoverished failed societies reach their lands—and if the ordeal is televised to hundreds of millions—they are first felt to be obligated to accept “refugees” and then almost immediately held culpable for not ensuring near-instant parity. The disaster in Congo becomes, in Washington, a referendum on caring; those fleeing the Third World mess of Oaxaca are seen as California’s moral responsibility.

Technology may redefine poverty even as it accentuates increasing anger over imparity. The abundance of mass-produced goods and electronic appurtenances has put the computing power of the late-20th-century rich into the palms of the under-class of 2015. Today a cheap Kia is by all measures a better car than a Mercedes of 20 years ago. Hot-water heaters, air conditioners, and central heating enable the American poor of Bakersfield to enjoy the same interior environments as those in \$30 million beach homes in Malibu. Yet with this widespread material improvement comes only increased appetite—and increased anger over inequality. It matters not that the Kia of today is better than yesterday’s Mercedes if only the so-called rich can afford today’s Mercedes.

America and the West in general are increasingly urbanized. Population density fuels more government. The self-reliance necessary to live a rural life, as the Founders saw, also provides a check on the natural tendencies of cities to grow, of populations to homogenize, and of government to prune liberty. The collective dream of the Western planner is now high-density apartment buildings, mass transit, and government control and ownership of collective green spaces outside the urban core.

Urbanism ensures romantic ignorance about nature and the countryside—and ultimately collective suicide: Techies in hiking boots and parkas confuse their day trips to Yosemite with back-to-nature purity and then agitate for regulatory protection of three-inch bait fish in the San Francisco Delta, to the point of cutting off the irrigation water that ensures the availability of the organic grapes and lettuce they buy at Whole Foods. Both environmentalism and notions of fairness are fueled by urban density and ultimately war against the logger, the farmer, the miner, and the rancher—and their creed of muscular autonomy, autarky, and a more realistic appraisal of nature.

The challenge of conservatives is educational and informational: not just to see Republicans take back the three branches of government, but also to explain to a new generation of Americans how their lives are daily being co-opted and trivialized by an overarching bureaucratic state and the attendant popular culture that it spawns. If, instead, we persist on the present course, America as we have known it will end not with a bang but a whimper. **NR**



JONAH GOLDBERG

Fusionism, Then and Now



Text

“**W**HAT lost the libertarians?” It’s a question you hear a lot from conservatives of late. The reason should be obvious to anyone who has followed the conservative movement’s internecine intellectual frictions over the last decade—or decades. Self-described libertarians are a minority, even among the ranks of people one could properly describe as libertarian. On many, or even most, contentious public-policy issues—economics, gun rights, health care, free speech, regulation, constitutional interpretation—most support for the libertarian position actually comes from people who describe themselves as conservatives. In other words, conservatives tend to be libertarian, but libertarians tend not to be conservative.

And self-described libertarians are very keen on emphasizing that distinction. They justifiably point to the areas, many of them quite significant, where the bulk of libertarians depart from the conservative consensus: foreign policy, drugs, gay rights, etc. Of course, the demarcations between these different camps are not hard and clearly defined. Many conservatives now—and even more in the past—hold the same convictions as libertarians on foreign policy and drugs and, to a lesser

Congratulations!

From Young America's Foundation to *National Review* on Its 60th Anniversary

Young America's Foundation recognizes greatness when it sees it. And we believe it couldn't be more evident and present in *National Review*. This is why we salute *National Review* on its 60th anniversary for achieving greatness as America's most influential opinion magazine since 1955. You pen freedom's cause, you author revolutions, you speak for Americans. Your creation was no accident. Your greatness was destined since your founding.

Young America's Foundation shares a special bond with *National Review* because we share the same founder. In 1955, William F. Buckley Jr. oversaw the publication of the first issue of *National Review*. In September of 1960, Buckley hosted 100 young conservatives at his home in Sharon, Connecticut who founded YAF to engage young people in the Conservative Movement.

William F. Buckley Jr. once said,

"The reason one supports Young America's Foundation is that one supports one's country, and one's country is going to be run, in a matter of days now, by these kids. They are going to be making the important decisions."

What a run its been for two exceptional organizations fighting side-by-side. So here's to 60, and God willing, 60 more!

— YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION



Reagan Ranch Center, 217 State Street, Santa Barbara, California 93101, 888-USA-1776
National Headquarters, 11480 Commerce Park Drive, Sixth Floor, Reston, Virginia 20191, 800-USA-1776

extent, on issues such as gay rights. But as a generalizations would not sit well at a magazine with a strong Cath - libertarians want to have their own identity, separate and ~~die~~ bent. tinct from that of conservatism. They're a bit like the ~~Cath~~ - the 1960s and 1970s, prominent libertarians such as dians you meet abroad who go to almost obsessive length Murray Rothbard and Karl Hess hoped to use anger over the show everyone that they aren't American.

Some conservatives feel the same way about libertarians - called Old Right and the New (i.e., radical) Left. Hess, the ism, but few are passionate about it. Conservative figure ~~was~~ Goldwater speechwriter, eventually joined Students from William F. Buckley Jr. (who described himself in ~~the~~ a Democratic Society and the Industrial Workers of the sub title of one of his last books as a "libertarian journal ~~World~~" (a.k.a. the Wobblies) and worked with the Black Pan - and Frank Meyer to Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagans. In 1968, Rothbard, a brilliant if eccentric intellectual straight down to our own Charles C. W. Cooke, author of ~~the~~ loathed NATIONAL REVIEW, lamented in the pages of the recent *Conservatarian Manifesto*, have worked assiduously left-wing journal *Rampart* the recent rise of to find common ground and common purpose with our liber- tarian comrades.

Most famously, Meyer created an ~~entire~~ philosophical project called "fusionism" to explain why conservatism and libertarianism should remain joined at the hip. In brief, he said a virtuous society must be a free society, because acts

Vietnam War to create a new sort of fusionism, marrying the

a new, younger generation of rightists, of "conservatives," . . . who thought that the real problem of the modern world was nothing so ideological as the state vs. individual liberty or government intervention vs. the free market; the ~~rebel~~ prophecy that declared, was the preservation of tradition, order, Christianity and good manners against the modern sins of reason, license, atheism and boorishness.

"We have allowed ourselves," Rothbard continued,

to sacrifice the American ideals of peace and freedom and anti-colonialism on the altar of a crusade to kill communists throughout the world; we have surrendered the libertarian birthright into the hands of those who yearn to restore the Golden Age of the Holy Inquisition. It is about time that we wake up and rise up to restore our heritage.

The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW replied to Rothbard's incessant snipes by saying that they "declined to inhabit, along with Mr. Rothbard, the overcrowded quarters of Freak conservatives who want to keep this marriage going, it's ~~middle~~ house," however "shrewd or useful [Rothbard's] occasional ~~opercus~~ in economics."

freely chosen are not virtuous NATIONAL REVIEW remains an essentially fusionist enterprise. But while it's easy to find conservatives who want to keep this marriage going, it's harder to find prominent libertarians who do. As a matter of cultural identity, the libertarian outlook on conservatism is "We're just not that into you."

In the last decade, Brink Lindsey, a scholar at the Institute, tried to defenestrate conservative-libertarian fusion-a union of ice and fire." Measured against such yardsticks, the ism in favor of what a headline writer in *The New Republic* distance between conservatives and libertarians today seems, dubbed "liberalitarianism." Save at the margins, the unequivocal anything, to have shrunk. nious effort failed largely because the animosity that some libertarians hold for conservatism pales in comparison with the libertarians' outright revulsion that progressives hold for any libertarians were never the conservatives' to lose. ianism distinguishable from libertinism. A house of anti-It is a peculiar irony that a movement that seeks to conserve statist and statist is obviously one divided against itself, the best of the past is one of the youngest political movements cannot stand.

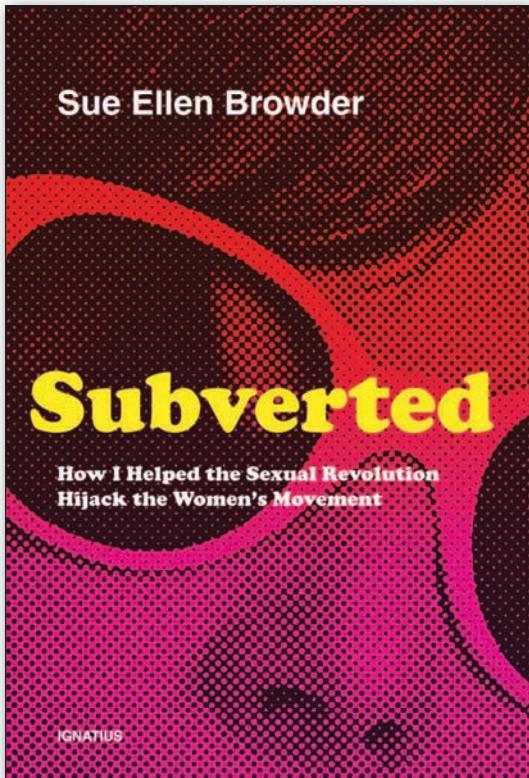
But the friction between libertarians and conservatives environmentalism have far older pedigrees than conservatism does. nothing new. There has never been a time libertarians (or "individualists," as they used to be called) did not struggle Thomas Paine (albeit tenuously). Progressivism is a against what they perceived to be unjust shackles. The history of socialism but nonetheless has its own family tree of NATIONAL REVIEW is in significant part a story of William Godwin stretching back to Auguste Comte and John Stuart Mill. Buckley Jr.'s trying to herd a bunch of cats.

Ayn Rand, the anti-statist titan, was "read out" of the Environmentalism is more amorphous, but one can find servative movement in these pages by Whittaker Chambers. Precedents in medieval England and more obviously during for her views on religion and morality held "that man the Industrial Revolution exists for his own sake, that the pursuit of his own happiness for libertarianism, if you see the direct descendant of ness is his highest moral purpose, that he must not sacrifice classical liberalism, then libertarians also have a more venerable himself to others, nor sacrifice others to himself." She claims lineage than conservatives. But there's the rub. Do they? denounced the crucifixion as "the symbol of the sacrifice of the Founding Fathers were all classical liberals, but unlike the ideal to the nonideal." It's not hard to see why many of their opposite numbers in the French Revolution, they



The design concept for the new magazine. It was to have been called "National Weekly," but it turned out that a trade publication held the copyright on that name. And so, from the very first issue, it was NATIONAL REVIEW.

How the Women's Movement Got HIJACKED



"A compelling personal narrative with piercing observations from her work in women's media. A book you can't put down."

—Jennifer Fulwiler, Author,
Something Other Than God

"*Subverted* is a game changer for our culture, and in particular, for women."

—Abby Johnson, Author, *Unplanned*

"What a romp - through the offices, the backrooms, and even the personal lives that brought you the sexual revolution!"

—Helen Alvare, Professor of Family Law,
George Mason University

"Here are two books, two stories in one. The first opens your heart, the second opens your eyes."

—Peter Kreeft, Ph.D.,
Professor of Philosophy, Boston College

SUE ELLEN BROWDER, a freelance writer, has appeared on *Oprah*, the *Today Show*, and hundreds of radio talk shows. Her work for *Cosmopolitan*, *New Woman*, *Woman's Day*, and other magazines has given her a lifetime of experience with the women's movement.

"A window into our uniquely disturbed historical era. Generations of readers will turn to *Subverted* when they want to know what turned the tide."

—Jennifer Roback Morse, Ph.D. President, the Ruth Institute

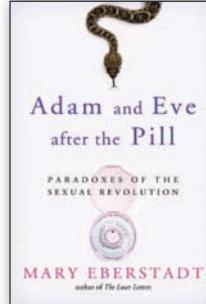
◆ **SUBVERTED - How I Helped the Sexual Revolution Hijack the Women's Movement**
Sue Ellen Browder

Contraception and abortion were not originally part of the 1960s women's movement. How did the women's movement—which fought for equal opportunity for women in education and the workplace—and the sexual revolution—which reduced women to ambitious sex objects—become so united?

Sue Browder documents for the first time how it all happened. Trained to be an investigative journalist, Browder unwittingly betrayed her true calling and became a propagandist for sexual liberation. As a staff writer for *Cosmopolitan* magazine, she wrote pieces meant to soft-sell unmarried sex, contraception, and abortion as the single woman's path to fulfillment. Only much later did she realize that the propagandists higher than herself had strongly influenced her thinking as they subverted the women's movement. Her in-depth research sets the record straight and illuminates a way forward for others who have suffered from the unholy alliance.

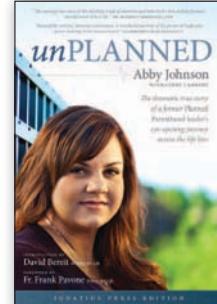
ISBN 978-1-58617-796-6 · 235 pages · Sewn Hardcover · \$22.95

RELATED TITLES FROM IGNATIUS PRESS



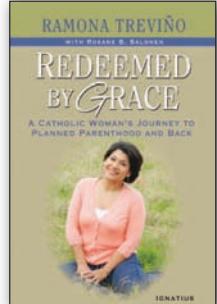
ADAM AND EVE AFTER THE PILL

Mary Eberstadt
AEAP-P... Sewn
Softcover, \$15.95



UNPLANNED

Abby Johnson
UNP-P... Sewn
Softcover, \$14.99



REDEEMED BY GRACE

Ramona Trevino
RBG-H... Sewn
Hardcover, \$17.95

WWW.IGNATIUS.COM



ignatius press

P.O. Box 1339, Ft. Collins, CO 80522

1 (800) 651-1531

were largely conservative in manners, morals, and faith. Their conservatism was not labeled as such because it suffused the culture and was simply taken for granted. One need only read the writings of George Washington or John Adams to understand that they were among the first fusionists. (Robert Nisbet once hinted that even Mill, the *fons et origo* of so much libertarian thought, was actually more of a fusionist himself, clawing back his libertarian reductionism with caveats about the need to curb liberty for the young, the infirm, the “backward,” et al.)

Until the middle of the 20th century, the conservative side of the classical-liberal tradition in America was not cultivated the way the libertarian side was, in large part because no one thought it needed to be cultivated. It is not by accident that the first chapter of George Nash’s 1976 classic *The Conservative Intellectual Movement Since 1945* is titled “Revolt of the Libertarians.” They were there first.

This is not to deny that there were conservatives before the founding of NATIONAL REVIEW or the publication of Russell

That is why conservatives in America are so different from the conservatives of Europe—especially continental Europe—or anywhere else. Comte Joseph de Maistre, the quintessential European conservative, sought to conserve the absolute rule of Church and Throne. The American Founders sought to overthrow even the partial rule of Church and Throne. And therein lies all the difference. In Europe, conservatism was understood as the opposite of classical liberalism. The reverse was the case in America, as Friedrich Hayek observed: “What in Europe was called ‘liberalism’ was here the common tradition on which the American polity had been built: thus the defender of the American tradition was a liberal in the European sense.”

Modern conservatism was born from the shock of events—two total world wars punctuated by a peacetime effort to import Bismarckian socialism to our shores, not to mention the long march through the institutions of Marxists, Deweyan progressives, secular humanists, et al. As the conservative movement matured, it sought out the ideological tools and weapons necessary for the counter-assault that would liberate the prin-

In an age when institutions were under sustained ideological assault, conservatives recognized that they needed an ideology to defeat an ideology.

Kirk’s *Conservative Mind*. There were. But they were scattered among various movements and institutions, just as conservative ideas were strewn about. Kirk’s contribution in *The Conservative Mind* was to revisit the historical record and connect the dots in a way that presented American conservatism as a viable tradition. No wonder the early masthead of NATIONAL REVIEW was like the roster of a life raft, crammed with soaked and battered refugees from the shores of Communism, socialism, progressivism, and the Old Right.

Indeed, the Old Right itself was a pretty motley crew. Rothbard was on defensible, if somewhat rocky, ground when he traced his lineage back to it. There certainly were many anarchists and individualists among its ranks. But there were also agrarians, single-taxers, nationalists, traditionalists, and a glorious smattering of brilliant cranks, literary curmudgeons, and cape-wearing misanthropes. What made them the “Old Right” was the emergence of a new Right, in the form of the conservative movement we have today.

The late Samuel Huntington recognized the newness of that movement in 1957, when he wrote his sadly forgotten essay “Conservatism as an Ideology.” Huntington argued that conservatism was a “positional ideology.” What he meant is that conservatism emerges from the challenges presented by the existing order. “Men are driven to conservatism by the shock of events, by the horrible feeling that a society or institution which they have approved or taken for granted and with which they have been intimately connected may suddenly cease to exist.” In an age when institutions were under sustained ideological assault, conservatives recognized that they needed an ideology to defeat an ideology.

ciples upon which this nation was founded. Yes, conservatives borrowed heavily from the libertarian tradition, but they also borrowed from the religious, patriotic, and moral arsenals of the Founders. That is why the libertarians have stood apart like Coptic Christians, who claim a lineage and authenticity that needs no sanction from the larger, more powerful, and more syncretic Catholic Church.

As I write, a certain wealthy real-estate magnate and reality-show star threatens to become the titular leader of the conservative movement, at least insofar as the Republican party is the practical expression of that movement. He makes little or no effort to celebrate conservatism as a defense of the American tradition of liberty. He never talks about the Constitution, nor plausibly about religion. He makes scant mention of freedom. Instead, he taps into deep reservoirs of resentment and a kind of nationalism that has little to do with patriotism rightly understood. Popularity and “winning” are his lodestars. He is unlikely to surmount the obstacles erected by the Founders to keep demagogues from wielding what Edmund Burke called “arbitrary power,” yet he and his supporters have illuminated the vulnerabilities within the larger conservative project.

Conservatism is an ethereal thing rather than a political system. It has no written constitution to rely on in dark times. And while it is not free of ideas, it is, as a positional ideology, resistant to formulation in a simple, fixed credo. As such, it always stands at risk of being exploited by someone who yokes personal ambition to popular passion in the service of a movement that is conservative in name only. And if that happens, the time will come for libertarians to ask, “Who lost the conservatives?”

NR

DO YOUR INVESTMENTS



FIT YOUR MORAL BELIEFS?

Many people don't realize the companies they're invested in might be violating their strong moral beliefs. Thankfully, investors don't have to compromise their values. Ave Maria Mutual Funds take a pro-life, pro-family approach to investing, with a proprietary screening process that examines corporate compliance with Catholic teachings regarding abortion, pornography and policies that undermine the sacrament of marriage. Investments are made only in companies that do not violate core teachings of the Catholic Church as set by the Funds' Catholic Advisory Board.



Smart Investing and Catholic Values

For more information call **1-866-AVE-MARIA** (1-866-283-6274) or visit avemariafunds.com

Request a prospectus, which includes investment objectives, risks, fees, expenses and other information that you should read and consider carefully before investing. The prospectus can be obtained by calling 1-866-283-6274 or it can be viewed at www.avemariafunds.com. Distributed by Ultimus Fund Distributors, LLC.

200-68-101516NR



RAMESH PONNURU



Text

Family: The Crucial Institution

MARRIED white Christians were the demographic core of the country when NATIONAL REVIEW was founded, and still are the demographic core of conservative movement it midwifed. The difference in verb tenses between the two halves of that sentence problem for that movement, and points to one for the court

The last 60 years have witnessed a “great sorting” of parents and voters in the United States, a sorting this magazine promoted. Partisan divisions have come more closely to coincide with ideological ones. Americans got “a choice, not echo,” as conservatives promised during one of NR’s earliest campaigns. As part of this process, married white Christians have grown much more likely to vote Republican. A bit more than 40 percent of them backed Dwight Eisenhower’s party, according to political scientist Alan Abramowitz, while more than 60 percent backed George W. Bush’s. They have shrunk as a share of the electorate, going roughly from 80 to 40 percent over that period. Among voters under 30, they went from almost 80 to below 20 percent.

Conservatives will not succeed in the future unless they perform better among the nonwhite, the non-Christian, and the non-married. They will have to do better among non-Christians absent an upsurge in Christian belief. Even if immigration were to stop, they would have to do better among people whose ancestors mostly came from outside Europe.

Making inroads among non-Christians and nonwhites is a formidable challenge that conservatives have barely begun to tackle. But it is the decline of marriage—the decrease in the percentage of adults who are married, and in the percentage of children being raised by parents who are married to each other—that may prove the most problematic for conservatism.

Childbearing out of wedlock and divorce have risen; people marry later in life, and fewer people ever marry. Marriage has declined for many reasons: the economic emancipation of women, the longer schooling encouraged by modern economists, the invention of the birth-control pill, the spread of liberal individualism, and more besides. We would not want to reverse all of these developments, even if we could.

But the weakening of marriage has come at a heavy cost. Children generally do better when they are raised by parents who are married to each other: better academically, economically, and behaviorally. They do worse in other environments. Even children in what we used to call “intact” families fare worse in communities where such families are rare. And we have some reason to think that the decline of marriage has decreased happiness for adults, too, and especially for women. Americans with relatively low incomes and levels of schooling, in particular, have experienced the downside of these trends. Among them the decline of marriage has been especially pronounced.

MY FIRST ISSUE OF NR

I am from a family of Democrats. My grandfather had a bust of FDR on his bookcase.

My first vote in a presidential election was in 1980. I could not bring myself to vote for Jimmy Carter, but I naïvely believed the liberal media’s characterization of Ronald Reagan, so I voted for John Anderson. After Reagan became president, I realized that he was not the extreme, shallow, and trigger-happy man they had made him out to be. I felt deceived and began searching out right-leaning publications.

In the mid 1980s, a friend recommended NATIONAL REVIEW. His mother was a strong Republican (she hated Bill Moyers) and an NR subscriber. I read an issue, loved it, and have been a subscriber ever since.

RODMAN E. HONECKER
BRIELLE, N.J.



"My fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country."

[Inaugural Address]

Friday, January 20, 1961

-John F. Kennedy

The just-released John F. Kennedy presidential dollar figured to be among the most popular issues in the ongoing series of \$1 coins honoring the nation's chief executives, now in the ninth year of its roughly 10-year run. JFK was one of America's most beloved presidents, and his shocking assassination ensured that his images would endure, as if frozen in time, in our nation's history.

Historic Coin Portrait The new coin design is the work of Don Everhart, a senior sculptor-engraver on the U.S. Mint's roster of staff artists. Depicting a contemplative JFK looking down and seemingly lost in thought, the image is similar to the official portrait hanging in the White House – also capturing Kennedy in a reflective moment, with his head bowed and eyes downcast. The portrait was painted in 1970, seven years after the assassination, and was closely monitored by Kennedy's widow, Jacqueline, who not only commissioned the artist, Aaron Shikler, but also gave him detailed instructions on how she wanted the president to be shown. The portrait differs greatly from the presidential images on other White House paintings, and Everhart has acknowledged that Shikler's work inspired the equally unique likeness of JFK on the coin.

A Woman's Touch It's a little-known fact, but Jacqueline Kennedy, one of America's favorite First Ladies, also played a role in the final design of the enormously popular Kennedy half dollar, which was first issued in 1964. She asked the coin's designer, Mint Chief Engraver Gilroy Roberts, to modify the details of her husband's hair – and the changes were, of course, made.

JFK, Purple Heart & Navy SEALS John F. Kennedy was a different kind of president – the youngest ever elected, recipient of a Purple Heart for his heroism, creator of the Navy SEALs, and the first (and so far only) Roman Catholic, to cite four important examples. In my opinion, such a president deserves a coin that likewise bears a historic design. I believe Don Everhart captured what Jackie and JFK would have liked, given the design of the presidential painting. I base this on a story my parents told me many years ago regarding an interaction they had with Jack and Jackie Kennedy at a 1959 dinner in Lake Charles, Louisiana. (See Bonus Gifts)

This new JFK dollar continues the tradition of historic, artistic coins like those I saw in the Smithsonian's exclusive opening of the new Value of Money exhibit.

- Mike Fuljenz

President - Universal Coin & Bullion®
America's Gold Expert®

Award-Winning Industry Leader

• Investment Book of the Year Awards*
7 - Best Dealer Publication Awards*
2015 - Book of the Year Award*

Follow Mike Fuljenz *Numismatic Literary Guild Award Winner



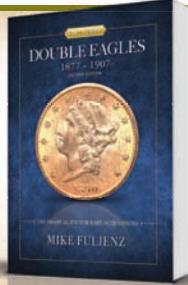
MIKE FULJENZ

Type Three Double Eagles 1877-1907 (Second Edition)

Autographed Copy

\$39.95 Ships Free
with Kennedy coin purchase

237 pages with over 100 gorgeous full-color
coin photographs



Literary

Experts Say **"The book having the greatest potential impact on numismatics!"**

2015 NLG Book of the Year Award-Winner

Universal Coin & Bullion® is proud to announce that our President and America's Gold Expert®, Mike Fuljenz, was honored at the 2015 World's Fair of Money, receiving awards and recognition, including the prestigious "Book of the Year" award from the Numismatic Literary Guild for his newly released Type Three Double Eagles 1877-1907 (Second Edition).

Congratulations Mike - 56 Awards spanning 13 categories in 29 years!

Official Rare Coin & Bullion Dealer of the Southland Conference



Est. 1994
UniversalCoin.com®
Beaumont, Tx



SHOP ONLINE: ✓ Award-Winning Videos & Resources ✓ Shopping & Special Offers ✓ Buying, Selling, Security Tips & More



who do not have the support of a husband are more likely to need the support of the state—and, even if they do not immediately, to value their ability to rely on it if their circumstances turn worse. Republicans have often been described as the “daddy party,” offering voters order and judgment rather than care and validation. But what happens to the daddy when fatherhood stops being as much a lived reality?

If this is right, then the future of conservatism is tied up with the future of marriage. Republicans might be able to do well in an America with an even weaker marriage culture than we have. But they will have to be less conservative Republicans taking part in running a larger government at the behest of a less secure populace.

The America in which NR developed “fusionism”—the combination of libertarian economics and traditionalist morals that would characterize modern conservatism—had a level of marital stability that was unusual in our history and is almost mythical now. The country had gone through a great deal of centralization and homogenization as a result of the Great Depression, the New Deal, World War II, and the Cold War. Big government, big business, big labor, and big medicine never loomed as large in American life as they did in the 1950s, and never would again. It was the magazine’s libertarianism that stood athwart the age.

The government still needs reining in. It needs it more, since it is larger than it was 60 years ago: more meddlesome, unwieldy, and ineffective. But conformity in lifestyles is not our era’s problem, and the romance of collectivism is.

There is no ready-made program, no five-point plan, for bringing about a cultural change that would lead more people to raise children within healthy marriages. But conservatives could stand to spend a little less time thinking about the conditions necessary for businesses to flourish, as important as it is, and a little more time about those for families. If we put our minds to it, we would probably find that there are a lot more market reforms—in housing, in higher education, in taxes, in health care—that would make it more affordable to start a family.



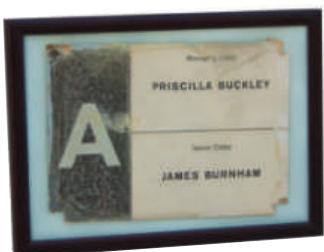
RICHARD BROOKHISER

Will We Govern Ourselves?

I TAKE a personal interest in the Founders’ revival, since I am dead. My first biography, *Founding Father: Rediscovering George Washington*, was generously

reviewed by a major scholar, Joseph J. Ellis, on the front page of the *New York Times Book Review* in February 1996. That was a warm-up: The breakout book for the Founders was a condensation of Ellis’s own *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson* (1997), which won the National Book Award. In its wake, professional historians (Edmund Morgan, Gordon Wood, Jack Rakove) and professional biographers (David McCullough, Ron Chernow) moved steadily through the great names: Franklin, Washington, Hamilton, John Adams, Madison. Lesser greats had their innings, from Sam Adams to Alexander McGillivray, the Franco-Scottish chief of the Creek Indians whose negotiations with the Washington administration were almost as complex and dishonest as Iran’s today. After dozens of volumes and almost 20 years, I thought we might be slowing down.

Instead, the Founders’ revival rolls through other media. Lin-Manuel Miranda’s hip-hop musical *Hamilton* had a triumphant opening on Broadway, its weekly grosses now trailing only *The Lion King*. On television, AMC’s *Turn: Washington’s Spies*, a tale of Revolutionary espionage based on a book by NR veteran Alexander Rose, was renewed for a third season. Even *Sleepy Hollow*, Fox’s fantasy jape, also



For two decades, senior editor Jim Burnham and managing editor Priscilla Buckley (Bill’s older sister) shared an office at 150 East 35th Street. This sign hung outside their door.

The decentralization of American life has been largely renewed for a third season, has a Founding angle, since good thing for the country in general and conservatism in particular. But we should not consider the family just another large institution in retreat. Families are the crucial institutions we need to make our way through our complex, and endlessly various society, and we need them to be strong.

NR interests so briskly telescoped.

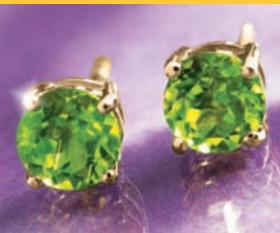
Meet the Beauty in the Beast

Discover this spectacular 6½-carat green treasure from Mount St. Helens!

For almost a hundred years it lay dormant. Silently building strength. At 10,000 feet high, it was truly a sleeping giant. Until May 18, 1980, when the beast awoke with violent force and revealed its greatest secret. Mount St. Helens erupted, sending up a 80,000-foot column of ash and smoke. From that chaos, something beautiful emerged... our spectacular **Helenite Necklace**.

EXCLUSIVE FREE

Helenite Earrings
-a \$129 value-
with purchase of
Helenite Necklace



Helenite is produced from the heated volcanic rock of Mount St. Helens and the brilliant green creation has captured the eye of jewelry designers worldwide. Today you can wear this massive 6½-carat stunner for **only \$149!**

Make your emeralds jealous. Our *Helenite Necklace* puts the green stone center stage, with a faceted pear-cut set in .925 sterling silver finished in luxurious gold. The explosive origins of the stone are echoed in the flashes of light that radiate as the piece swings gracefully from its 18" luxurious gold-finished sterling silver chain. Today the volcano sits quiet, but this unique piece of American natural history continues to erupt with gorgeous green fire.

Your satisfaction is guaranteed. Bring home the *Helenite Necklace* and see for yourself. If you are not completely blown away by the rare beauty of this exceptional stone, simply return the necklace within 30 days for a full refund of your purchase price.

JEWELRY SPECS:

- 6 ½ ctw Helenite in gold-finished sterling silver setting
- 18" gold-finished sterling silver chain

**Limited to the first 2200 orders
from this ad only**

Helenite Necklace (6 ½ ctw).....Only \$149 +S&P

Helenite Stud Earrings (1 ctw)\$129 +S&P

Helenite Set \$278Call-in price only \$149 +S&P
(Set includes necklace and earrings)

Call now to take advantage of this extremely limited offer.

1-800-333-2045

Promotional Code HEL783-04
Please mention this code when you call.

Stauer®

14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. HEL783-04,
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337 www.stauer.com



Necklace
enlarged to
show luxurious
color.



*"My wife received more
compliments on this stone
on the first day she wore it
than any other piece of jewelry
I've ever given her."*

**- J. from Orlando, FL
Stauer Client**

Smart Luxuries—Surprising Prices

We feel close to the Founders because they are of ~~old~~ ~~liberty~~ "Today those are understood to be what Baron historical figures go. When I give Founders-related ~~talks~~, ~~for~~-rights. Rights talk, and even ~~someth~~ ~~of~~ ~~our~~ ri sometimes take the audience on the following time ~~trip~~ ~~quite~~ ~~W~~ healthy after two centuries.

I was in college, I heard a lecture by Alger Hiss, the ~~I Was a~~ ~~secret~~ ~~esp~~; asked which of the amendments that make u when Hiss was a young lawyer, he clerked for Justice Billie of Rights could be passed today. My quick answer Wendell Holmes Jr.; when Holmes was a captain in ~~the~~ ~~A~~ ~~of~~ ~~them~~: The amending process is deliberately hard, he told President Lincoln to "get out of my fool!" when the ten that were ratified by December 1791 were understood Lincoln looked over a parapet at Jubal Early's raid onto Wash a concession to the Constitution's defeated opponent ington; and when Lincoln served his lone term in ~~the~~ ~~sh~~, them that the nation's new structure would no one of the congressmen he served with was former b~~pres~~ ~~ent~~ ~~oppressive~~. No such mandate exists now. John Quincy Adams, who heard the cannon and saw the But smoke ~~second~~ thought I believe a number would pass rather of the Battle of Bunker Hill from his family's home across the bay in Braintree. From us to the Revolution is only a ~~sur~~ ~~big~~ ~~ity~~ about guns' being legal only for use in mil It's a lot farther to Charlemagne.

There are enough journalists, old-school ACLU types, and ~~we~~ ~~are~~ ~~not~~ ~~so~~ ~~dead~~ ~~Americans~~, irked by campus PC to pass the First Amendment beyond mere information or entertainment? How do ~~guarantees~~ ~~any~~ ~~te~~ of freedom of the press, and of speech. Similar impress or inspire us? Is there anything we are ~~overlookin~~ ~~g~~ enough believers in enough different churches to

At the heart of the Founding was a war, and war ~~is~~ ~~instab~~ ~~able~~ free exercise of religion. No one thinks anymore engrossing. The Civil War and World War II are ~~the~~ ~~grea~~ ~~ter~~ ~~in~~ ~~ter~~ ~~in~~ ~~ter~~ ~~in~~ ~~ter~~ ~~in~~ ~~ter~~ magnets for historians and reenactors, but the Revolutions ~~is~~ ~~so~~ ~~outlandish~~ that if anyone offered the Third American surely third. The Revolution (longer than the Civil War and ~~ment~~ it might also pass.

part in World War II put together) was our longest waContentious issues are routinely debated in a language of right Vietnam. It covered a great swath of the New World ~~and~~ ~~its~~ ~~suppo~~ ~~rters~~ uphold a woman's right to control her own Quebec to St. Louis to Guyana. It offers marches, sitins, ~~di~~ ~~pponents~~ ~~het~~ ~~right~~ of the unborn to have one. The Emancipators, brilliance, spying, civil strife, diplomacy, and ideology. Proclamation and the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments both on paper and in practice: Jefferson wrote that ~~all~~ ~~tem~~ ~~rights~~ that, whatever Jefferson wrote or Washington created equal; Washington was the last American comitid ~~had~~ been denied black Americans, both slave and free. to lead integrated units until the Korean War ~~civil~~ ~~righ~~ ~~t~~ ~~movem~~ ~~ent~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~mid~~ ~~20th~~ ~~century~~ said, We re

Despite its length and its extent, the Revolution is ~~more~~ ~~com~~-This struggle was so central to America's history prehensible than other modern world wars because of ~~principles~~ ~~that~~ women, gays, and transsexuals all sought Fewer than 30,000 men fought at Yorktown, compared ~~with~~ ~~appropriate~~ ~~it~~.

200,000 at Oudenarde (1708) or more than half a million rights to make a deal in the form of a binding contract Leipzig (1814). Its smaller numbers were a product of sorts basing that it did not have to wait for the Bill of Rights' marsh logistics—Britain and France had to manage its ~~theirs~~ ~~effed~~ but was put into the Constitution itself, on the market from overseas, while the United States had to manage of its Rwfis King (Article I, Section 10). At the same time, barely functioning government. As a result, both the acteffor in to the ameliorate the effects of the market by regulation drama and its students today have a more intimate relationship public assistance to the unfortunate ass ~~ac~~ ~~as~~ ~~right~~ to causes and trends; the trees do not choke out the forest, to earn a living wage, or some such. Marxists have

Though interestin any war often starts as a form of ~~an~~ ~~argum~~ ~~of~~ class struggle, but Americans would rather us or voyeurism, a way of experiencing battle without ~~the~~ ~~und~~ ~~ative~~ tongue.

lice, or tedium, if pursued slyly you can offer a panorama of political philosopher or an economist might argue the human qualities: intuition, improvisation, planning, persiany of these rights are incoherent or violations of other rights, backbiting, stupidity, panic. War can show the brightsha of is a discussion for a later time. When we talk, valor: Baron Johann de Kalb, the German-born French byffitcating about rights, which link the NRA and Caitlyn Jenner first came to America in 1768 as a secret agent ~~merch~~ ~~Great~~ derivatives and socialists, to the Battle of Bunker Hill Game of Anglo-French rivalry, scoping out the coloniHill feven more directly than by hearing a lecture by A possible allies; by 1780, when the quondam realpolitik ~~his~~ ~~la~~ ~~f~~ you can invoke the language of rights, you can on the field at Camden, dying from multiple gunshots on your side. Rights are right; they are also ours bayonet wounds, he told a solicitous enemy officer, "I diBut another legacy of the Founders, equally important, death I always prayed for, the death of a soldier fighting but that is their faith in self-government.

the rights of man." War can show the depths of villaRights Most self-government are related course, because of the Revolution's atrocities were committed by the rightishare more than barriers against interference; they made or by their irregular American allies, a disparity that helped about the worth of those who enjoy them. As Me tilt the undecided—a third of the population Adams put it, man is "Nature's Roman, never to be scourged." Nat guessed—to the patriot side. At the same time, you Rodihs nshould also rule themselves.

want to be a Loyalist who fell into the hands of patrioThe g~~u~~ ~~Em~~ ~~aker~~ who believed most eloquently in our fitness in New York or the Carolinas. self-rule was Jefferson. He expressed his respect for the politi

After the war, what? The climactic purpose of the ~~act~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~people~~, as undivided as a body, again and stitution, according to its preamble, is to "secure the ~~bless~~ ~~ing~~ All men are not created equally intelligent, but that

not trouble him, for he believed that all have an innate moral sense, which is a better guide to action than brains. Erroneous argument against them is the doctrine of rights itself. Lest the ideas or misinformation may cloud the moral sense, but if people dilute or trample them, rights need safeguards, either in and truth will inevitably make all right. "He who made this form of intricate constitutional machinery or in the wisdom would have been a pitiful bungler, if he had made the rules of insight of unelected guardians." When Justice Breyer our moral conduct a matter of science. . . . State a moral ~~caveat~~ that the Supreme Court should heed foreign laws, or a ploughman and a professor. The former will decide it as well when Justice Kennedy invokes "the right to define . . . the mystery and often better than the latter, because he has not been ~~told~~ of human life," we can debate whether they are rightfully astray by artificial rules." "The cause of republicanism, extending the Constitution or superseding it. Even if they are umphing in Europe, can never fail to do so here in the long run." the latter, however, they and the Constitution they have Our citizens may be deceived for a while, and have been ~~isolated~~ are on parallel missions: keeping the voters in line. deceived; but as long as the presses can be protected, we may other limitations on the people arise from decisions that trust to them for light." Jefferson's observation about republicanism or their representatives have made. Many government canism's triumphing in Europe was made in 1799, just before programs are so technical (price controls, setting interest rates) Bonaparte became first consul. Jefferson made a number of bad so sweeping (laws that ban discrimination or mandate full predictions in his life but never lost his faith in man. employment) that they require a class of administrators to

Even Founders with a darker view of humanity trusted the implement and oversee them. If these are not to be patronage people's ability to rule themselves. Madison, who is famous for observing in *Federalist* No. 51 that men were not angels of independence. Yet any officer of the state who is secure in went on in the 1790s, after his burst of Constituting his position has little incentive to respect or heed the public,

We are a long way from monarchy or bondage, yet we are also a long way from Jefferson's dreams of self-rule.

and expounding, to offer public opinion as the ultimate force every incentive to become fond of his position and perks. for good in the republic. "Every good citizen will be at once the Biblical vision of the modern administrative state is sentinel over the rights of the people" and "over the authoritaries Samuel 8, in which Samuel, last of the judges of Israel, tells the of the . . . government." Hamilton, whose worldview was darker, what a monarchy will be like: Their sons will be enlisted yet ("Is it not time," he asked *Federalist* No. 6, "to awake as charioteers and horsemen, their daughters as cooks and bakers; from the deceitful dream of a golden age" and recognize "that the people of everyone's seed, vineyards, and sheep will be appropriated we . . . are remote from the happy empire of perfect wisdom"; maidservants, menservants, and asses will all be put to work. and perfect virtue?"'), nevertheless trusted popular rule. Wherefore? And ye shall be . . . servants." But the punch line is in the set-up: he gave his day-long oration at the Constitutional Convention. The people of Israel first came to Samuel and asked for this. Or advocating an executive and senators elected for life, as Mencken put it, "Democracy is the theory that the common defended his plan by noting that under it "all the magistrates people know what they are and deserve to get it good and were to be chosen "by the people, or by a process of election." Or as Hugo Grotius, the Dutch legal philosopher, argued, originating with the people." it is possible for people justly to place themselves in bondage.

The Founding generation's faith in self-government was most pithily stated not by any of the Founders but by ~~himself~~ a long way from Jefferson's dreams of self-rule. Some of Preston, a Minuteman who fought at Concord. When he what is probably the backwash of bigness, but much of it is the 91, Preston was asked by a young whippersnapper why ~~result~~ of our own inattention, and mistaken intentions. had fought. Was it because of the Stamp Act? The tea tax? The soberest Founder of them all warned us. In 1783, as the The writings of John Locke? No, no, no, said Preston, the Revolution wound down, George Washington wrote a circular explained himself thus: "What we meant in going for those the 13 state governors—his first (and so far as he then knew red-coats was this. We hadways governed ourselves, and we only) farewell address. He is not ranked with our great writers, always meant to."

but there is one long paragraph in this message that is carefully Do we still mean to? A presidential-election year may be the roughest and very impressive. The bulk of it is a description worst time to ask. It is the great symbol, almost the festival of our situation at that moment: "at tract of continent"; self-rule. Yet the sophisticated view of presidential contests various soils and climates"; "the rights of mankind . . . better is that they are brainless exercises, PR kabuki. Any real understood and more clearly defined"; letters, commerce, that gets done is done behind the scenes, by soft-faced, handshakers, Revelation. Then, the kicker: "At this auspicious handed manipulators. The only threat to the stability of this period, the United States came into existence, and if their citizens come from rube orgasms, precipitated in this cycle by men should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders. entirely their own."

NR



Text



JOHN O'SULLIVAN

A People, Not Just an Idea

AMERICA is not just a country,” said the rock singer Bono, in Pennsylvania in 2004: “It’s an idea.” As John Jay pointed out, Americans were fortunate in having the same religion (Protestantism), the same language, and the man. I didn’t choose his quotation to suggest that this view of America is a kind of pop opinion. It just happened that in my Google search his name came ahead of many others. That broad common culture that in my Google search his name came ahead of many others would intensify the sense of a common American identity from George Will to Irving Kristol to almost every recent presidential candidate, all of whom had described America either as a decent, thoughtful, and public-spirited man or as a “proposition nation,” to distinguish it from the realms of “blood and soil” ethnicities. This philosophical English, or other Europeans—American enough, that is, to be

Leftists about fighting these damn foreigners. And the Right, at least among people who write and talk of such things, might have become an ethnic one in time if

Indeed, we have heard variations on Bono’s formulation that had not been for successive waves of immigration that many times that we probably fail to notice how paradoxical it is. But listen to how it sounds when reversed: “America is that early American identity was robust enough to absorb just an idea; it is a nation.” Surely that version has much more to do with renewing arrivals and to transform them into Americans. But it is of the ring of common sense. For a nation is plainly something larger, more complex, and richer than an idea. A nation’s cultural identity was inevitably stretched by the arrivals of include ideas. It may have evolved under the influence of millions of people from different cultures. The U.S. government, a particular set of ideas. But because it encompasses so many other, private industry, and charitable organizations all set out things—notably the laws, institutions, language of the nation, “Americanize” them. It was a great historical achievement the loyalties, stories, and songs of the people; and above all helped to create a new America that was nonetheless the old Lincoln’s “mystic chords of memory”—the nation became America in all essential respects. In the metaphor employed by more than an idea with every election, every battle, every heroic tale, every historical moment that millions share, every immigrant group added its own spice to the original

FPG/GETTY IMAGES

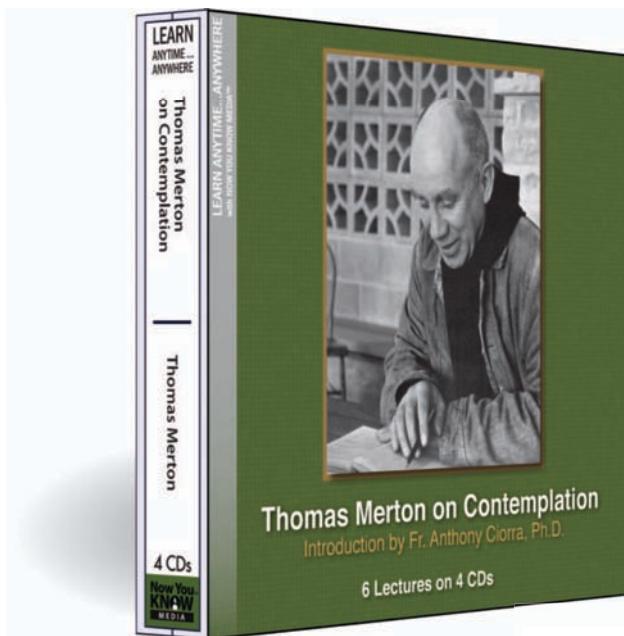
That is not to deny that the United States was founded on some very explicit political ideas, notably liberty and equality.

which Jefferson helpfully wrote down in the Declaration of Independence. To be founded on an idea, however, is not the same thing as to be an idea. A political idea is not a destination or a conclusion but the starting point of an evolution—and, in the case of the U.S., not really a starting point, either. The ideas in the Declaration on which the U.S. was founded were not original to this country but drawn from the Anglo-Scottish tradition of Whiggish liberalism. Not only were these ideas circulating well before the Revolution, but when the revolutionaries won, they succeeded not to a legal and political wasteland but to the institutions, traditions, and practices of colonial America—which they then reformed rather than abolished. We will not be far wrong if we think of 1776 as universalizing the liberalism of Britain’s 1688 Glorious Revolution and extending the blessings of liberty from the British people to all mankind, or at least to those who made it to the fledgling United States.

Geography then came to the help of philosophy. American liberty was implemented not on a small, crowded island divided by hedgerows and ancient landmarks, but in the fruited plains of a vast continent. The opportunities it offered of liberty and property were much easier to seize and exploit in this newfound land than in a country whose property registration dated back to 1086 and the Domesday Book. America’s founding ideas—equality as well as liberty—flourished more vigorously here than in their native habitat because there was more room, less in the way of obstacles, and a political nation that shared the same broad moral, religious, and democratic outlook (especially after the enforced departure of the Tories). Admittedly there were serious disagreements within this broad consensus—and, in the case of slavery, an original sin that still scars the nation—but the passage of the U.S. Constitution managed them more or

effectively until the Civil War.

Hear Thomas Merton's Lost Lectures



You are invited to learn from one of the twentieth century's leading minds on social justice, authentic spirituality, and contemplative living.

Hear bestselling author and renowned mystic Thomas Merton express his deepest thoughts on prayer, meditation, silence, contemplation, and life as a spiritual journey. In these timeless recordings, you will be transported into a classroom in the monastery where Merton taught his students with love, humor, and respect. These six remarkable lectures, originally recorded by Merton in 1963-65, have been remastered and made available to the public through Now You Know Media's exclusive partnership with the Thomas Merton Center and the Thomas Merton Legacy Trust.

Throughout this series, Merton offers profound reflections on the church fathers, the monastic life as a journey, and solitude. His use of poetic images, scripture, and theology makes these lectures a treasure that you will want to listen to again and again. You may have read Merton's writings, but hearing his voice and manner of expression brings out another side of Merton that you haven't experienced before. Discover how time spent with Merton can be transformative.

Offer expires 30 days from issue date

1-800-955-3904

www.NowYouKnowMedia.com/merton2

Now You Know Media, Inc. • 12115 Parklawn Dr., Unit B •
Rockville, MD 20852

Thomas Merton on Contemplation

4-CD Set presented by Thomas Merton

Introduction by Rev. Anthony Ciorra, Ph.D.

1. The Spiritual Journey (1/16/1963)
2. Cassian on Prayer (5/19/1963)
3. Benefits of Religious Silence (12/14/1963)
4. Prayer and Meditation (1/28/1964)
5. Dealing with Distractions in Prayer (6/14/1964)
6. Solitary Life: A Life Without Care (8/20/1965)

4-CD Set ~~\$109.95~~ SALE \$29.95

Coupon Code: A1927

+ \$3.95 Shipping & Handling
100% Satisfaction Guarantee

These special recordings are part of Thomas Merton's spoken word legacy. They are actual recordings of Thomas Merton and are part of the archives of the Thomas Merton Center at Bellarmine University in Louisville, Kentucky. This program was produced by Now You Know Media. Now You Know Media's mission is to bring you the best religion professors in America. Visit our website, www.NowYouKnowMedia.com, to browse our growing catalog of over 250 programs available in CD, DVD, and MP3 formats.

Still, Americanization ran up against a practical problem. It were wandering behind American lines in U.S. uniforms required cultural loss from the immigrant, notably speaking the language of the Bulge, the G.I.s testing their identity new language, but until the second generation, most immigrants not about anarchism or the First Amendment but questions were not culturally American in any full sense. They didn't design to expose their knowledge (or ignorance) of demonstrate their Americanness in everyday life. So were American life and popular culture. That produced some lively trustworthy? Patriotic? Loyal? Or were they importing ideas? General Marshall corrected his inquisitor's claim that gies and quarrels from their previous homes? (Some were, incite the capital of Illinois was Chicago; Britain's Field Marshal dentally.) That meant that the authorities and other Americans imperiously waved aside the guards, who promptly had to find some simple, straightforward way of ascertaining out his tires; and actor David Niven (then a British com the sentiments of newcomers. The American creed, which is about), on being asked who had won the 1943 World Series philosophical distillation of America rather than its lived replied: "Haven't the foggiest idea, but I did co-star with Ginger was to hand.

On the eve of a visit to America in the 1920s, G. K. Chesterton got flows from this history. Anyone can learn philosophy noticed that his visa application required him to answer such sophical Americanism in a civics class; for a deeper knowl questions as whether he was an anarchist. He commented: edge and commitment, living in America is a far surer recipe

The philosophical understanding is a very thin identity comm
It is quite true that the phrase occurs on no British forms I with the full richness of one rooted in the lived experience have seen. But this is not only because most of the Englishmen are not anarchists. It is even more because even the anarchists are Englishmen. . . . It might well be maintained that Herbert Spencer was an anarchist. It is practically certain that Auberon Herbert was an anarchist. But Herbert Spencer was an extraordinary typical Englishman of the Nonconformist middle class. And Auberon Herbert was an extraordinarily typical English aristocrat of the old and genuine aristocracy. Everyone knew in his head that the squire would not throw a bomb at the Queen, and the Nonconformist would not throw a bomb at anybody.

And there is a final paradox at which Chesterton hints: An American identity rooted in cultural familiarity will be more genuinely liberal than one attached to the American idea. It allows someone to reject the dominant ethos of this society without losing his claim to be an American—the concept of un-Americanism being essentially un-American. All of which

means, finally, that Americans are a distinct and recognizable people with their own history, culture, customs, loyalties, and anarchist bent on overthrowing the government would rather qualities that are wider and more various than the most didly admit to this intention, but he conceded that there was a summary of liberal values. underlying philosophical justification for the question. If you don't know what your neighbor is like, because he is a distinctly southern intellectual Mel Bradford to apologize to a rious stranger, you have to find out—or risk meeting within for overlooking, maybe inserting, a typo in the opening nasty surprise in the form of an anarchist bomb. Such a piece of a book review he had sent to NR. He asked me if nations are intended not only to deter anarchist but also toously: How bad a typo? Well, I replied, the sentence now reads give everyone else an incentive to demonstrate loyalty to it is commonly said that America is a nation dedicated to new nation and its values and customs. It worked in wry position." I don't think I have ever heard a man laugh now forget.

Ann Coulter was denounced on the Internet during the reWhen he eventually recovered his composure, he said. "I papal visit for suggesting that America's founding fathers had the preposition is a 'but,' but I fear it is probably a 'for' distrusted Catholics because the Church intruded into matters. On sober reconsideration, Bradford and I would both outside the narrowly religious domain. This was described as knowledge that "but" is not a preposition. But he was none "ugly nativist bigotry," but Ms. Coulter was completely correct on to something important. If Americans are a distinct And so were the Founding Fathers. The United States was founded with their own history, traditions, institutions, and community is a liberal country; the American creed is a liberal one. For culture, then they can reasonably claim that in the first 150 years of American history, and arguably until should adapt to them and to their society rather than the reverse later, the Catholic Church was hostile to liberalism, including most of the republic's history, that is what happened. And religious freedom, and it said so explicitly. As a Catholic in current circumstances, it would imply that Muslim immigrants regret that, but I don't want to be guilty of pro-Catholic bigotry. Immigrants should adapt to American liberty as Catholic immigrants and so I can't deny it. What changed the Catholic Church world.

the American Catholic Church. What changed the American? America is an idea, however, then Americans are not a part of the Catholic Church was two things: the lived experience of people but simply individuals or several different people. American liberty by Irish and other Catholic immigrants and living under a liberal constitution. That vision of identity the pressure from non-Catholic Americans that they should inevitably become a carrier of multiculturalism. For if demonstrate their attachment to America and its free Americans are not a particular people, then there is no justifications. Enforcing the American idea is not always a nice business for America's common culture to be "privileged" over even when it is a necessary one. the cultures of current and future immigrants.

By World War II, however, all but the most recent migrants America would then truly be a nation dedicated not to have become culturally American. So when German immigrants composition, but to a conjunction: "and."

NR

Perfect Choice HD™ is simple to use, hard to see and easy to afford...

Invention of the Year

PERSONAL SOUND AMPLIFICATION PRODUCTS (PSAPs)

THEY'RE NOT HEARING AIDS



NEW
Now with more
power and
clarity!

Virtually
impossible
to see.

Perfect Choice HD is NOT a hearing aid. It is a Personal Sound Amplification Product (PSAP). Hearing aids can only be sold by an audiologist or a licensed hearing instrument specialist following hearing tests and fitting appointments. Once the audiologist had you tested and fitted, you would have to pay as much as \$5000 for the product.

Personal Sound Amplification Products use advanced digital processing to amplify the frequencies of human speech. Thanks to the efforts of a doctor who leads a renowned hearing institute, this product is manufactured in an efficient production process that enables us to make it available at an affordable price.

The unit is small and lightweight enough to hide behind your ear... only you'll know

you have it on. It's comfortable and won't make you feel like you have something stuck in your ear. It provides high quality audio so soft sounds and distant conversations will be easier to understand.

Try it for yourself with our exclusive home trial. Some people need hearing aids but many just want the extra boost in volume that a PSAP gives them. We want you to be happy with Perfect Choice HD, so we are offering to let you try it for yourself. If you are not totally satisfied with this product, simply return it within 60 days for a refund of the full product purchase price. Don't wait... don't miss out on another conversation... call now!



**Call toll free now for
our lowest price.**

1-888-421-8613

Please mention promotional code 101679.

1998 Ruffin Mill Road,
Colonial Heights, VA 23834

Perfect Choice HD is not a hearing aid.
If you believe you need a hearing aid,
please consult a physician.

WEIGHT	Less than 1 ounce
SOUND QUALITY	Excellent: Optimized for speech
FITTING REQUIRED?	No
ONE-ON-ONE SETUP	Free
RETURN POLICY	Full refund of product purchase price within 60 days
COLOR	Silver or Beige



Text



PAUL JOHNSON

When Law Began to Rule

It could well be argued that the signing by King John of the Magna Carta in 1215 was the decisive episode in English history. Contemporaries were in no doubt about its importance. Royal clerks set immediately making copies and sealing them. At least 20 made and put in the archives of cathedrals and other places. The charter, suitably amended, was reissued many times, notably in 1217 and 1225, and in derivative documents hundreds of times.

Although Magna Carta is now 800 years old, it is a remarkable document that has survived. Runnymede, the meadow on the Thames where it was signed, is much as it was then. Four of the original copies are still intact. Two are in the British Library. One is in Lincoln Cathedral, another at Salisbury, both original places of deposit. Official documents from the first 50 years of history that can still be studied can be numbered in hundreds, perhaps thousands.

What is notable about this agreement is its comprehensibility. Clauses 39 and 40 read:

No free man shall be seized or imprisoned, or stripped of his rights or possessions, or outlawed or exiled, or deprived of his life or property, except by the law of the land or by the law of the realm, in which case judgment shall be pronounced by his peers or by his equals or by the law of the land.

Mr. Johnson is the author of many books, including, most recently, Mozart: A Life.

him, or send others to do so, except by the lawful judgment of his equals or by the law of the land.

To no one will we sell, to no one deny or delay right or justice.

Political liberty emerged more fully in England in the 17th century, when constitutional lawyers were able to use Magna Carta to firmly establish fundamental privileges and rights, such as trial by jury, habeas corpus, equality before the law, freedom from arbitrary arrest, and parliamentary control of taxation. The charter was seen by the English not just as a the first of the Statutes of the Realm, but almost as a person living historical giant. Sir Edward Coke, greatest of the 17th century constitutional lawyers, discussing amendments by the House of Lords to the Petition of Rights, declared: "Magna Carta is such a fellow that he will have no sovereign." The Founding Fathers took the living image over in its entirety and referred to Magna Carta as "sinewy" and "tenacious," as though it were a person.

Now the remarkable thing about Magna Carta is that it long antedated the struggle for parliamentary democracy or any form of representative government. King Edward I's first parliament of knights and burgesses, held in London on April 25, 1275, came 60 years after Magna Carta and could not have been held without it. The Great Charter came four centuries earlier.

MY FIRST ISSUE OF NR

It was the summer of 1999, and I went to the airport to pick up my wife and first child as they returned from a visit to her parents'. After arriving, I learned that their first leg had been delayed, causing them to miss their connection, which resulted in my waiting three hours at the airport. I wandered over to a shop to look for magazines to read. Usually I read the newsmagazines, but, as I had subscriptions to these, I needed something else. I picked up copies of *The New Republic* (I was a conservative, but I had a TNR subscription, which had recently lapsed, from back in the mid '90s *The New Republic* was "sensibly liberal") and *NATIONAL REVIEW* to fill the time. That was the last time I ever read *The New Republic*. I got a subscription to *NATIONAL REVIEW* the same week.

G. DEVIN EIBAND
CEDAR PARK, TEXAS

It was the summer of 1999, and I went to the airport to pick up my wife and first child as they returned from a visit to her parents'. After arriving, I learned that their first leg had been delayed, causing them to miss their connection, which resulted in my waiting three hours at the airport. I wandered over to a shop to look for magazines to read. Usually I read the newsmagazines, but, as I had subscriptions to these, I needed something else. I picked up copies of *The New Republic* (I was a conservative, but I had a TNR subscription, which had recently lapsed, from back in the mid '90s *The New Republic* was "sensibly liberal") and *NATIONAL REVIEW* to fill the time. That was the last time I ever read *The New Republic*. I got a subscription to *NATIONAL REVIEW* the same week.

The logic behind all this originated in the Great Charter, which established, once and for all, the supremacy of the rule of law. What King John, in signing it, was admitting—and what his successors were forced to admit in turn—was that he was subject to the law, like anyone else. In its clauses we enshrined the salient fact that the sovereign state was a state of kings or individuals, however rich or mighty or numerous, but of laws, and that the laws must always be supreme.

Gun owners set to get free survival food

Farmers vow to keep up with the rush to supply every gun owner who calls toll free and beats the deadline to claim their free 72-hour survival food kit.

In a crisis, your number one need is food. But not just any food.

What everyone needs is good-for-25-years survival food that you can rely on when the time comes that food is scarce.

Well right now – in what is truly an unprecedented move – 72-hour Food4Patriots survival food kits are being given away to readers who are gun owners as long as they call a special toll-free hotline and beat the program deadline.

"This is all happening because we're worried that the people in Washington have an agenda that is about more than just guns and ammo," explained Frank Bates, a spokesman for the company.



Military-grade Mylar pouches ensure these meals stay fresh for 25 years or more.

"Control the food, control the people."

We already know that they're coming after our guns ... food could be next, and none of us wants to ever rely on this or any government to keep our families fed."

Experts say that everyone should have at least a 72-hour supply of

non-perishable food on hand at all times.

Unfortunately, too many people make the mistake of choosing products that were never intended to be survival food. They end up with expensive stockpiles that are too big and too bulky to move, should an emergency force them to leave their homes.

Chances are, their foods were not packaged for a 25-year or more shelf life. Most are not.

And if they were unlucky enough to stock up on MREs, they'll be depending on a product that can actually make you sick if you eat it for too long.

Food4Patriots survival foods are made of the finest ingredients, grown and packaged right here in the USA. They taste great. They provide the nutrition you need. And they were developed specifically for use in emergencies – although a lot of folks sometimes like them for a quick meal or snack.

Bates explained, "These are home-style meals that we package in airtight and resealable military-grade Mylar pouches that keep them fresh and delicious until they're needed. Your family will enjoy meals much like they're already eating every day."

Every 72-hour kit that's being given away contains four servings each of such familiar dishes as Liberty Bell Potato Cheddar Soup, Blue Ribbon Creamy Chicken Rice, Travelers Stew, and the always loved Granny's Homestyle Potato Soup.

The company's usual price for the



Gun owners are flocking to claim their free 72-hour survival food kit before the deadline.

72-hour kit is \$27.00 plus shipping. But gun owners who act quickly can pay only the \$9.95 shipping and handling fee through this program.

"We're trying to ensure no gun owner gets left out, but they have to hurry because we have a limited supply of the 72-hour kits we can give away," Bates warned. "Once word got out that gun owners could get free survival food, our phones have been ringing off the hook. We actually had to add extra agents to keep up with the incredible demand."

There is still time to take advantage of this free food offer, but be aware the program will end no matter what at midnight, December 31, 2015.

HOW TO GET YOUR FREE 72-HOUR SURVIVAL FOOD KIT:

Food4Patriots is committed to giving a free 72-hour kit to everyone who calls their toll-free hotline. Just give the agent the approval code shown below. Provide your delivery instructions and agree to pay the \$9.95 shipping and handling fee. That's all there is to it.

Approval Code: 72FREE

Toll-Free Hotline: 1-800-716-3830

Offer Cut-Off Date: 12/31/2015

Please note: Food4Patriots says they will continue to give away these 72-hour kits for as long as their supplies last.

Due to media exposure, their phone lines may be busy. Just keep calling and you will get through.

The fact often tends to be forgotten that the rule of law is far more important than the form of government. Churchill may well have been right when he argued that democracy was the best form of government only in the sense that it was less objectionable than any other. But he might have added that none was any good unless the rule of law underpinned it. And the rule of law must be established first. This is what was the fundamental fact that made the so-called Arab Spring such a nonsense. A dozen or so countries changed their constitutions during the spring of 2010, all to various forms of parliamentary democracy. But none established the rule of law, so all of them foundered the moment they were subjected to serious strain.

There is a long history of what I call the democratic idea. The French Revolution established what its founder called universal male voting. It collapsed at what its nemesis, Napoleon Bonaparte, called "the first whiff of grapeshot." France has nine constitutions since then; all precarious. Garibaldi

In 1981, WFB wrote a rhapsodic column about peanut butter, mentioning Skippy as his favorite. An entrepreneur in Upstate New York, Douglas Manly, sent him a jar of the peanut butter he produced, Red Wing. WFB was instantly won over, and Red Wing was his official peanut butter for the rest of his life.



JOHN HOWARD

Long Live the Nation-State

Mazzini united Italy and gave it a universalist constitution. But they had no magna carta in their history, and therefore no firmly established rule of law, so Mussolini made short work of their national assembly. The Weimar Republic had a universally elected Reichstag, and much else. Hitler, in 1933, destroyed it in a month. Not least, the new Soviet state that emerged from the First World War had a magnificent constitution. But it was based on nothing but rubble. Russia, too, had never fought ~~Singapore~~ and won the battle for a magna carta, and therefore what ~~Bigotry~~ ¹⁰⁰⁰ and Sidney Webb called “a perfect democracy” produced the Gulag, with 20 million victims. Mao’s China also had ~~Efficiency~~ “perfect” constitution—and 70 million victims. Malaysia

Americans rightly perceived the importance of Magna ~~Charter~~ and ~~remained~~ against the ethnic Chinese who constituted the in their historical heritage and built on it in the same ~~way~~ ~~bulky~~ ~~the~~ Singapore's population. The British did. They perceived the rule of law to be the ~~need~~ ~~key~~ the energetic and visionary leadership of Lee Kuan prelude to and foundation of any constitutional process. Other Singaporeans set about building a powerful city-state. English-speaking countries, notably Canada, Australia, New Zealand a century later, Singapore's per capita income is the Zealand, and, above all, India, have followed the same ~~course~~ of the region. Its economic stability is a magnet for development. South Africa, having been launched the ~~state~~ ~~in~~ investment from around the world. way two decades ago, has already departed from it with ~~clearly~~ the current Singaporean prime minister, Lee Hsien disastrous results. There are perhaps 50 states in the ~~world~~, once remarked to me, "The only resource we had where parliamentary democracy in some shape has taken root, people." More specifically, Singapore was nourished by and all have based it on a successful battle to establish ~~the~~ ~~rule~~ elements. First, there was the ferocious work ethic and belief in the importance of education, derived from the

That is the fact we are celebrating on the 800th anniversary tradition. Then there was a strong commitment to Magna Carta, and that is the lesson all aspiring democracies in the world have to learn.

NR Mr. Howard is a former prime minister of Australia.



The Heritage Foundation
..... *congratulates*

NATIONAL REVIEW



60 years of
vigorous and incorruptible conservative opinion

free and open trade. In addition, English was taught in schools and maintained as the language of commerce, which bound the nation together. Finally, preserving the essence of the British judicial system cemented the nation-state's unity and stability. In the past year, Australia has negotiated free-trade agreements with China, Japan, and Korea. Negotiations for one but it has also pursued an independent foreign policy un - with India have begun. It would literally be impossible for beholden to other nations or groups. It is a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, but it has been more openly pro-American than the other members of that group.

In an era in which too many nation-states have preached the virtues of multilateralism and pooled sovereignty, Singapore has remained both independent and highly successful, proving that with the right skilled leadership, the nation-state can not only survive but prosper.

Ironically, the past few months have seen the stirrings of nation-state passions in the very country that was once Singapore's colonial master, the United Kingdom. There is a growing prospect that Britain will vote to leave the European Union, something that would have been unthinkable five years ago. Much will depend on what emerges from Prime Minister David Cameron's negotiations with EU leaders as the terms on which Britain might remain in the EU.

Those who are horrified at the prospect of a "Brexit" usually base their arguments for Britain's EU membership on economics. Important though this consideration may be, it doesn't address the growing sense in the United Kingdom that key features of EU membership constitute an affront to British sovereignty.

It was always understood that Britain would have to surrender some sovereignty when she joined Europe. Yet in the halcyon pro-European 1970s, this didn't seem to matter so much. There were to be massive benefits—and wasn't the world moving toward greater multilateralism in any case? Forty years on, as Britain faces different challenges, such as home-grown terrorism and pressures of unchecked immigration, a very different attitude prevails.

Contrary to what the advocates of the European project asserted, the European Union has reduced, not increased, those two erstwhile enemies, has derived from a capacity to Europe's global power. Consensus to act is difficult to achieve among so many nations. And membership in the wider group constrains initiatives by individual states or is used as an excuse for inertia.

It rankles many Britons that their nation's courts are subject to the European Court of Justice. Likewise, Britain is unable to negotiate her own trade agreements directly with the other nations, especially in the rapidly growing Asia-Pacific region. These considerations, coupled with almost daily reminders that Britain no longer controls her own borders,

One day WFB called articles editor Kevin Lynch and told him to look out the window. Presently a scroll descended from Bill's balcony on the third floor to Kevin's window on the second floor. It was an eagerly awaited article from former governor Ronald Reagan, which had come in on the continuous paper used by fax machines in those days.



seemed to matter several decades ago, when multilateral free-trade agreements such as the World Trade Organization's Doha Development Agenda were in vogue. But Doha has failed, and, increasingly, bilateral agreements that reflect international norms of openness are the preferred route.

Thus, a celebration of a half century of Singaporean success as a nation-state, together with a growing resentment within Britain that she no longer has all the attributes of a nation-state, reminds us that we still live in a world of nation-states. To pretend otherwise is delusional.

In my time as prime minister of Australia, I measured the foreign-policy successes of my government according to the health of a series of important bilateral relationships not by the intensity of our multilateral activities.

Australia's relations with Indonesia have always been problematic. That country not only is our nearest neighbor but is fundamentally different from us in population, culture, religion, and political heritage. It is the most populous Islamic country in the world. Guiding Australia's relationship with Indonesia through such difficult challenges as the Asian financial meltdown, the independence of East Timor, and the terrorist attacks in Bali was in every way a bilateral challenge. In each instance, it was a case of two nation-states reaching an understanding with each other. The co-operation between our security forces in fighting Islamic terrorism, for example, was due entirely to the negotiations of the two nations, their leaders, and their government agencies. It owed nothing to regional associations, valuable as those were in other contexts.

Likewise, Australia's success in strengthening her relations with both China and Japan, despite ongoing tensions between those two erstwhile enemies, has derived from a capacity to achieve a deal in a successful bilateral way with each of them. The refugee crisis now burdening Europe is a humanitarian disaster. It flows directly from the turmoil in Syria and Iraq, for which the murderous behavior of the Islamic State is primarily, although not solely, responsible. The failure of the

HAPPY
60th
NATIONAL REVIEW 
HERE'S TO 60 MORE!



 media research center®
AMERICA'S MEDIA WATCHDOG



compassion and hard-headedness. The most needy deserve shelter and comfort, yet a completely open-door policy will only magnify the problem.

This refugee challenge reminds all European nations that the right to control one's borders is a basic element of national sovereignty. Fourteen years ago, I declared, during an election campaign, that "we will decide who will come to this country and the circumstances in which they come." It struck a chord with the Australian people. It came at a time when unauthorized asylum seekers were threatening the historic support of the Australian people for high levels of immigration to our country, as well as the maintenance of a generous and humanitarian refugee policy.

MY FIRST ISSUE OF NR

Being an immigrant—legal—I didn't know anything about NATIONAL REVIEW until the early 1990s, when I regularly took the US Airways shuttle between La Guardia and D.C. In those days, the airline offered travelers a wide range of free publications, and I tried NATIONAL REVIEW. It made an immediate impact. The articles resonated with so much that I was seeing and feeling about what was wrong with the Clinton administration.

The free NR on the shuttle seems to have gone the way of so many frequent-flier perks, but I am eternally grateful for it.

IAN DUNCAN
SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.

My government's policy worked. The illegal arrivals, often on fragile boats—many of which sank, taking lives with them—were stopped. This was done through a combination of intercepting and turning around boats when safe to do so as well as processing asylum seekers offshore from Australia. A subsequent government reversed this policy, with disastrous consequences. But when a later government restored our earlier policy, the Australian people felt that their government again controlled their borders.

Support for immigration continues to be strong in Australia and our people continue to support a generous refugee policy. A measure of this generosity is the willingness of Australia to receive 12,000 Syrian refugees.

There is a basic public-policy point here. My long experience in Australian politics has been that whenever a government is seen to have immigration flows under control, public support for immigration increases. When the reverse occurs, hostility to immigration rises. With this in mind, I am sure that many of the member states of the European Union now wish that they still had complete control over their borders.

The Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War, established the nation-state as the main organizing principle of world affairs. Across the world, there is plenty of contemporary evidence that the instinct to preserve that principle remains as strong as ever.



NIALL FERGUSON

What Would Eisenhower Do?

MERICAN foreign policy today is in disarray. Faced with three major challenges to Western democracy—a restive Russia, an economically ascendant China, and Islamic extremism emanating from a strife-torn Middle East—President Obama has struggled to formulate a coherent strategy. His September 28 address to the

United Nations General Assembly summed up the conceptual confusion that has bedeviled his presidency. He spent most of his speech scolding Iran, Russia, and China for their various transgressions. But he concluded by saying he was "prepared to work with any nation, including Russia and Iran, to resolve

the conflict" in Syria. Obama admitted that he had left "a vacuum" in Libya by intervening in the fall of Moammar Qaddafi. But the president's ideal of the rule that applied for most of human history . . . that strong states must impose their will on weaker ones." But his Russian counterpart, Vladimir Putin, is showing him that weak states

can sometimes impose their will on stronger ones if they know the rudiments of strategy. Mr. Ferguson is the author of Kissinger: 1923–1968: The Idealist, which has just been published.

1955 - 2015

As the leading conservative database marketing firm in the country, we understand and celebrate influence.

Congratulations to all of those involved with National Review on 60 years of influence from all of us at TMA Direct.



DIVERSE EXPERTISE. FOCUSED RESULTS.[®]

LIST MANAGEMENT • LIST BROKERAGE • DIGITAL MARKETING • DATA SERVICES

WWW.TMADIRECT.COM • 1.877.TMA.5566

They did things very differently 60 years ago, when a retired general was president—a man who, behind his genial mid 1950s felt menaced by the Soviet Union: militarily, country-club exterior, understood strategy better than almost—economically, internally, technologically, and geopolitically—anyone in his generation.

In deciding how best to respond, Eisenhower considered

Dwight D. Eisenhower became president as the Soviets three strategic options: to maintain the status quo; to complete Union was beginning to close the nuclear gap. In August 1953, the Soviets tested their first hydrogen bomb. “It’s Bloc; or (most radical of all) to withdraw, reducing its territory—understood what that signified. “Let me tell you that if to a small extent. The final report of “Project Solarium,” a strategy—comes, it will be horrible,” he told South Korean president Syngman Rhee in 1954. “Atomic war will destroy civilization.” Security Council document NSC-162/2, called for the “capitation. . . . There will be millions of people dead. . . . The Soviets to inflict massive retaliatory damage by offensive strategy—are too horrible to contemplate. I can’t even imagine them.” As “striking power” as the keystone of Eisenhower’s strategy. top-secret assessment a year and a half later persuaded him With a couple of exceptions, this strategy of brinkmanship that—as he summarized the assessment’s claims—in the wakworked. Cuba and, arguably, North Vietnam were the only coun of a full-blown nuclear war, “something on the order of 65 cities lost to Communism on Eisenhower’s watch. The arms race cent of the [U.S.] population would require some kind of medontinued, but it did not inflict significant harm on the U.S. ical care, and in most instances, [would have] no opportunity economy. The “red scare” subsided. And, despite Sputnik, the whatsoever to get it. . . . It would literally be a business of digits got no nearer their goal of matching American technologing ourselves out of the ashes, starting again.” logical innovation.

Eisenhower also feared the economic consequences of an Eisenhower succeeded partly because the theory of “mass-unbridled arms race. “Spiritual force, multiplied by economic sive retaliation” was ingenious. Not only would the Soviets be force, multiplied by military force, is roughly equal to seceded, Eisenhower calculated; so, too, would American genrity,” he wrote in his diary. If the cost of the arms race exceed—from demanding unaffordably large conventional the American way of life and the country’s economic healthanned forces. Yet Eisenhower secretly retained an intermedi—it would be self-defeating. What was more, the Soviate option: a limited use of nuclear weapons. As he told the understood this and were deliberately seeking “by their milJoint Chiefs of Staff, “We should use the bomb in Korea if the tary threat . . . to force upon America and the free world aggression is renewed” by the Chinese. (The JCS took that to unbearable security burdenleading to economic disaster.” include tagets in China, too.) “The United States cannot afford Ike’s “Chance for Peace” speech of April 16, 1953, sincerely preclude itself from using nuclear weapons even in a local lamented the expense of the arms race. (“The cost of situation,” Eisenhower stated in early 1955, “if such use will modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in mlong the aggression to a swift and positive cessation, and if, on than 30 cities.”)

a balance of political and military consideration, such use will

The Soviet threat took multiple forms in the 1950s. Thoughtest advance U.S. security interests.” He re peatedly told the Senator Joseph McCarthy gave anti-Communism a bad name. U.S. military that “planning shld go ahead on the basis of the there was legitimate public anxiety about what Eisenhower oftactical atomic weapons against military targets in any himself called an “organization in [our] midst which, purports small war in which the United States might be involved.” ing to be a political party within the normally accepted mean-The reason for this was clear. The threat of massive retaliating, is actually a conspiracy dedicated to the violent overthron had a defect, as critics such as the young Henry Kissinger of our entire form of government.” pointed out. Quite simply, there were many moves the Soviets

With the successful launch *Sputnik 1*, the first artificial satellite, in October 1957, the Soviets appeared to be catching up not only in military terms but technologically, too. And, Asia Treaty Organization of 1954 looked superficially like officially, they appeared to be gaining the upper hand in what Asian equivalent to NATO. But it was already hard to see how would become known as the Third World.

its disparate members would be able to respond effectively to

As the European empires fell apart or dismantled themselves guerrilla wars of the sort that Communist insurgents liked to in the great post-war scramble to “decolonize,” Moscow sawage. Likewise, there was broad congressional support for a huge opportunity. In January 1961, Khrushchev explicitly pledged Soviet support for “national wars of liberation.” Eisenhower’s vaguely worded resolution of January 1957, which pledged the United States to defend “the Middle East” The idea was to ride the wave of decolonization by repagin “overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by senting Moscow as the ally of all revolutionaries and International Communism.” But how exactly was such aggresbranding the United States as the new imperialist. It looksd to be resisted? like a winning strategy. “Almost any one of the new-born Limited nuclear war—using tactical nukes to check the vast states of the world,” grumbled Eisenhower, “would fail.” Red Army—was an option that was never used, so we shall rather embrace Communism or any other form of dictatorship. We never know whether such a war would have escalated into ship than . . . acknowledge the political domination of the world. But Ike had otheroptions, too. Rather than being another government.” The “new countries” reminded himdrawn into fighting multiple Korean-style wars, Eisenhower of a row of dominoes wait to topple one after another—preferred to rely on what was then known as “psychological an image that would prove one of the most enduring of welfare”—a huge campaign of “gray” and “black” propaganda and covert operations. South Vietnam was flooded with anti-Cold War.



Frenkel & Company

International Insurance Brokers Est. 1878

Put 137 years of experience
to work for you.

Frenkel & Company
Corporate Headquarters
350 Hudson Street, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10014
P: 212.488.0200

Frenkel & Company
Harborside Financial Center
601 Plaza 3, 6th Floor
Jersey City, NJ 07311
P: 201.356.3400

Frenkel & Company
Insurance Services, LLC
633 West 5th Street
28th Floor
Los Angeles, CA 90071
P: 213.787.1100
License #OH44720

The Weiner Company
a wholly owned
subsidiary of Frenkel
One McKinley Square
Boston, MA 02109
F: 617.742.7744

www.frenkel.com

Communist literature produced by the United States Info killed by drone strikes since 2009.) The difference is that today mation Agency; North Vietnam was penetrated by CIA-train the United States does not have as clear a strategy as it did then. saboteurs and provocateurs; Indonesia, Laos, and Thailand First, the Obama administration seems inclined to underestimate were swamped with American propaganda. There was also mate the magnitude of the threats we face. Testifying in February huge effort to lock Pakistan into a “northern tier” of before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Secretary of State Western states (along with Turkey, Iran, and Iraq) and to o John Kerry called it “counterintuitive but . . . true” that “our citizens come India’s neutrality between the West and the Union. zens, our world today is actually, despite ISIL, despite the visible

This was a multimedia campaign that involved not only edifices that you see and how horrific they are, we are actually nomic and military aid but also trade fairs, exchange programs in a period of less daily threat to Americans and to people cultural tours, libraries, mobile cinemas, and radio broadcasts in the world than normally—less deaths, less violent deaths today Psychological warfare was of a piece with contemporary trends through the last century.” This might have been plausible in in commercial advertising: The assumption was that “hidden 2010, but since that time there has been a roughly fourfold persuaders” could be as effective in foreign policy as in sales increase in worldwide fatalities from armed conflict and a six-

When persuasion failed, the alternative was subversion. To fold increase in fatalities from terrorism. CIA director Allen Dulles and his contemporaries, who had learned their craft during World War II and had then watched power should also be understated. “No matter how powerful with dismay as the Soviets ruthlessly changed regimes ful our military, how strong our economy,” he told the United Eastern Europe, there was no obvious reason the United Nations General Assembly on September 28, “we understand the United States cannot solve the world’s problems alone.”

Perhaps the most striking difference between now and then is this administration’s deep reluctance to call an ideological enemy by its real name.

The overthrow of Iranian prime minister Mohammad Mosaddegh had in fact been a British initiative following his Syrian “red line” crisis that the United States is “not the nationalization of the British-controlled Anglo-Iranian Oilworld’s policeman.” The problem is that the states the pres- Company, but the CIA soon got involved, greatly increasing that wants to work with—the likes of Russia and Iran—are not resources available to fund the coup. In Guatemala, the initia much interested in police work. Rather the opposite. tive came from an American business interest, the United Fruit Company, which had been nationalized by Jacobo Arbenz after his election in 1951. The CIA organized a military coup that overthrew Arbenz, pinstakingly fabricating and spreading the Eisenhower signed into law in August 1954 was explicit. In the story that he was a Kremlin stooge. This kind of operation president’s words, “any citizen who knowingly and actively confirmed as legitimate by NSC 5412, approved by Eisenhower participates in the Communist conspiracy to overthrow the on March 15, 1954, which entrusted responsibility for planning government by force and violence should be regarded as covert operations to Dulles but ensured that the White House renouncing his allegiance to the United States and forfeiting the State Department, and the Defense Department had the right right to citizenship.” Compare those words with Preside of approval through the so-called Special Group, becomin Obama’s statements on the subject of what he prefers to call tee of the National Security Council. “violent extremism”—from “The future must not belong to

When Fidel Castro seized power in Cuba in January 1959 those who slander the prophet of Islam” in 2012 to “ISIL is not then, it was only natural that the CIA should begin work of Islamic” in 2014.

operation to get rid of him, too. As deputy director for plans, today’s threats are of course quite different from the threats ebullient Richard Bissell was quite ready to contemplate assa of the 1950s. It is not immediately obvious, however, that they sinations, not only of Castro but also of Rafael Trujillo in the smaller. Modern Russia may not be the Soviet Union. But Dominican Republic and Patrice Lumumba, the Congolese prime minister. Though those who killed Trujillo and Lumumba in 1961 were not themselves CIA agents, the weapons they usednomy has overtaken that of the United States, when adjustments are made for domestic purchasing power—a feat the were supplied by the agency.

The big difference between then and now is not that Soviet Union never came close to achieving. United States has forgotten how to do such nasty things. On the Future historians will be perplexed by the Obama administration, contrary, modern technology makes it far easier for the CIA’s insouciant response to these challenges. And they will carry out targeted assassinations than it was 60 years ago. Wonder, unjustly, why NATIONAL REVIEW did not do more to Pakistan alone, between 2,000 and 3,400 people have beenrest the decline of American strategy and power. NR

Congratulations to National Review on 60 great years!

In 1948, young Yale undergraduate William F. Buckley was first struck by Clare Boothe Luce's willingness to speak boldly on controversial issues. It was the beginning of a lifetime of mutual respect between two dynamic, articulate conservative leaders.



William F. Buckley & Clare Boothe Luce
“Firing Line”



from the Clare Boothe Luce Policy Institute



preparing and promoting conservative women leaders

112 Elden St Ste P, Herndon VA 20170 ~ 888-891-4288 ~ www.cblpi.org



MARK HELPRIN



Text

Dangers on The Horizon

In these days that in many ways are similar to the years of decadence and blindness foreshadowing the two great wars of the past century, our attentions are focused mainly on internal dangers to the republic. As they gather strength from victory to victory, we are witness to a geometrically accelerating descent of culture, the enthusiastic burial of tradition, an educational system enmeshed in political cant and sexual claptrap, and a constant tide of attacks upon religion, constitutionalism, individual responsibility and initiative, the free market, and American nationhood itself. The chaos of this sparking decay is reminiscent of what one can see when flying at night over widespread thunderstorms. Distant lightning strikes scattered in the darkness are like fireflies on a June lawn: As soon they light, they disappear as others flash elsewhere. Because each is destructive, disorienting, and part of the same storm, it is impossible to prioritize them.

By the same token, one cannot have a strong defense without a strong economy, which cannot exist for long without the disinterested rule of law, which in this country cannot exist absent constitutionalism, which cannot exist without decent education, which cannot exist in a putrefying culture—this order being by no means a hierarchy but only one thread in a web of interdependency that heretofore has provided Americans, if unevenly, with

Mr. Helprin, the author of Winter's Tale and A Soldier of the Great War, is a senior fellow at the Claremont Institute, a defense consultant, and a veteran of military service in the Middle East.

safety, prosperity, dignity, and purpose. All are necessary and none alone is sufficient.

Thus the beleaguered condition, as in fighting a swarm of bees, of that segment of the electorate, the Right, that neither believes everything is going swimmingly nor is content with just bread and circuses. Like a presidential candidate who must appeal to every facet of what he hopes to forge into coalition, people often suffer through the confusion of addressing everything at once. But in so doing they mostly relegate to equal or inferior status the one factor most influential upon all the others and recognized by the Founders as *primus inter pares*—defense, for the simple reason that without it the others cannot exist.

Whether by distraction, ideology, hostility, an impulse to suicide, or simply ignorance of history, we are steadily creating the conditions for either a major lost war that suddenly and radically will alter both our position in the international system and our way of life, or a spiritless twilight of surrender that will have the same effect, and into which the present administration has led our first steps. Lost in the clutter of materialism and the disharmony of our many arguments, we have become blind to a great wave that builds beyond the horizon.



In 1991, President George H. W. Bush, who had been a friend of WFB's since their days at Yale, bestowed on him the Medal of Freedom, citing him as "a tireless worker in the vineyards of liberty."

War breaks the hearts of families and nations. It upends economies, often stimulating but distorting them as well, and other than in exceptional circumstances leading to debt that can be sustained only by the diminution of the nation itself. War enslaves populations to a cause, creates unbearable grief and suffering, and can break political consensus and harmony for generations. Think of what the past 14 years of very limited war have brought, and then consider the potential effects of a nuclear detonation in a major city; an EMP attack resulting in helpless anarchy and scores of millions dead; an epidemic of newly emerging pathogens that would fell similar millions; a long, hard-fought struggle with an ascendant major power; a nuclear exchange with an emerging or established nuclear power; or the insidious and expanding consequences of the continual boil-over in the Middle East.

Though these dangers may not be entirely clear or immediately present, they are on their way, and we are neither prepared nor even holding against the pressure of their approach. As Europe dissolves and cannot mount its own defense, Russia strengthens and probes. Iran has built a toxic, genocidal bridge from Afghanistan to the Mediterranean. If Israel doesn't strike, Iran will underwrite its attempt to dominate the Arab and Islamic worlds with both the power of nuclear weapons (now, incredibly, in effect guaranteed by the West) and the reappearance of

Congratulations and Thank You!!

to

Rich Lowry, Editor

Jack Fowler, Publisher

and the

Entire Staff

of

NATIONAL REVIEW

for Sixty Years

as

America's Premier Journal of Conservative Thought



Stuart Holzer



Russia in the Middle East, a highly dangerous non-inevitability prevented, until President Obama, by every administration since Nixon's. China will neither relinquish its aggressive claim to the South China Sea nor allow economic dislocation to anything but slow the momentum of its military build-up. These are just the beginnings of challenges that, absent our own counter-preparations, promise to be overwhelming.

Not only is our response totally insufficient, this administration and our elites, and the bulk of European governments and their elites, are throwing open the gates. If you are an enemy of the West, you can spit in their faces and they will lick your boots, confining their aggressive and critical impulses to their own peoples and foundational principles.

And yet we can indeed have once again the sound policy, strategic sense, political solidarity, and necessary armaments to deter our enemies and, if deterrence fails, soundly defeat them. But we lack perspective, sobriety, the will to self-preservation, and

MY FIRST ISSUE OF NR

My first exposure to NR occurred in about 1994. I'm not sure why I got a subscription solicitation, since nothing about me at that time indicated that I was a prospective customer, but I did. I was then a longtime, hard-core leftist who was beginning to wonder about his politics after a couple of years teaching in the famous(ly bad) Kansas City magnet schools. What I "knew" did not correspond to the cold and ugly reality I faced every day, and after some time trying to change reality, I decided that maybe it was my thinking that needed updating. I was also starting to recognize the truth in Christianity's outrageous claims. Tumult.

One day this solicitation for a pretty expensive magazine I had never heard of showed up. I could not afford it and wrote back saying so. I got a real letter from someone who told me that NR had a fund just for such people, a sort of scholarship for the needy poor. I received that for one year and have paid my own way ever since.

And used the magazine in my classroom!

JIM CLARK
OVERLAND PARK, KAN.

leadership. This is as apparent in the semi-anarchic politics of United States as it is in the necrosis of Europe. In this election season, as the world unravels, America needs neither joyful tortoises, felonious pantsuits, ancient socialists, libertarians hypnotized by wishful theory, or a raging, egomaniacal mogul with all the fine and understanding of a rabid hippopotamus. They will not do.

Now ignoring the lessons and sacrifices of the past and sleep-walking into lost wars and all that will follow, the American people need a candidate and president who will make the approach of God in His goodness inserted into presidential politics some. The whose motto, devotion, and insistent message was "No more against jihadists in Iraq and Afghanistan have been squandered." For it is on the avoidance of war, the deterrence of war, and victory in wars thrust upon us that the future of this nation rests. All good works, hopes, and dreams are of no avail if they exist in a state of peace behind a shield of strength. NR



ANDREW C. McCARTHY

Our Bungled War on Terror

PEAKING to a joint session of Congress a week after nearly 3,000 Americans were killed in the 9/11 atrocities, President George W. Bush outlined the only strategy that has ever had a chance of winning the "war on terror." The plan, which became known as the Bush doctrine, had two simple steps: The United States would hunt down terrorist organizations—meaning, violent

peasants—wherever on earth they set up shop; and nations that abetted terrorists would be treated as terrorists—meaning, that the United States would pressure rogue regimes until they reformed or were ousted.

Fourteen years later, the administration of President Barack Obama has inked a multilateral agreement that makes

See what the fuss is about...

*They've all sailed
aboard an NR cruise!*

Shelby Steele Bing West Phyllis Schlafly Pat Toomey
Karl Rove Jay Nordlinger Michael Ramirez John Bolton
Ken Starr Bernard Lewis Peggy Noonan Dinesh D'Souza
John O'Sullivan Jim Buckley Katherine Lopez Paul Johnson
Rich Lowry Cal Thomas Mitt Romney Arthur Laffer
Katie Pavlich Midge Dector Michele Bachmann Michael Mukasey
Ramesh Ponnuru Mona Charen William F. Buckley, Jr. Ed Gillespie
Andrew Klavan Roger Kimball John Sununu Norman Podhoretz
John Fund Kevin Williamson John Kyl Brent Bozell
John Yoo Rob Long Victor Davis Hanson Newt Gingrich
Elliott Abrams Jonah Goldberg Fred Thompson Allen West
Ralph Reed Dick Morris David Pryce-Jones Bernard Goldberg



Danube River
May 9-16, 2016



Post-Election
November 13-20, 2016

nrcruise.com • **888-283-8965**

even as the jihadists continued conducting offensive operations at night, and striking the Pentagon, the center of American military might, and the fledgling government with it. But this was not America circa 1941. We had been propping up for over a decade.

The map of what used to be Iraq and Syria must be redrawn. The war footing while rhetorically absolving Islam, a mainstay because much of the territory has been seized, and the borderless, virulently anti-Western interpretation of which documents erased, by the Islamic State (also known as ISIS, or ISIL—theally underpins jihadist terror). The Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham, or the Levant). A breakaway group, sharia supremacism is far from the only confederation of al-Qaeda that originated as the terror network's fracture of Islam, and millions by the tens of millions reject chise in Iraq. ISIS is building its caliphate by barbaric conquest; struggle to reform it, or are indifferent to it. The desire to quest, a rampage in which Christians and other religious minorities were enslaved, raped, crucified, seized Washington was not merely a prudent desire; it was a immolated, and otherwise brutalized.

ISIS's mother ship-turned-rival, al-Qaeda, is also thriving, grasping the ideology that knits disparate Islamist factions. Notwithstanding Obama's risible claims to have put the organization together against their perceived enemies: non-Muslims, particularly the United States, Israel, and Europe. than they did in the pre-9/11 days, particularly in the Arabia Peninsula and northern Africa—in hubs such as Libya, a notable threat goes away; it creates a void of thought and strategy.

MY FIRST ISSUE OF NR

I found NATIONAL REVIEW in the college library at the University of Vermont my freshman year, '73-'74. It had cartoons, it had reviews of current books and movies, and it had Bill Buckley, whom I'd been reading in the news papers since I was nine (I was a precocious child—my mother uses a different term). It was the only publication that maintained that America was ruled by the Constitution rather than Senate committee, CBS News, and the New York Times. And it had style.

Several years later, I would have occasion to wipe the dust off Bill Buckley's photograph in the Officer Candidate School Hall of Fame at Fort Benning, Ga. I read NR in the library there, too.

DAVID TAGGART
CALHOUN, GA.

failed state where a terrorist attack on the eleventh anniversary of 9/11 killed the U.S. ambassador and three other American officials.

Meanwhile, the world's most influential Islamist organization, the Muslim Brotherhood, has been ousted from power in Egypt—no thanks to the Obama administration, which championed the group despite its accession despite its commitment to install sharia law. The Left took this blow and blamed it on the real culprit threatening American national security was American government policy. This was convenient: Islam's repressive legal code, and its ardent support of terrorism as a make headway in other states—including Turkey, our NATO ally whose Islamist government is a staunch supporter—and throughout the West, where the Brotherhood has spent three generations building an impressive political and social infrastructure.

How have we gone from a sound strategy to a catastrophic outcome? Why are our enemies winning?

The most succinct answer is that the Bush doctrine, for all its elegance, proved too difficult for our modern culture to apply. The 9/11 attacks were more threatening than the growing threat, of enabling and empowering the enemy. If the bombing of Pearl Harbor—killing more Americans, destroying the world—is exploding, it is not hard to see why—or it wouldn't be if we opened our eyes.

The schizophrenic Bush administration placed the nation

politically correct obsession, a mulish determination to avoid the void of thought and strategy.

In the matter of grappling with Islamic extremism, that void has been filled by delusion and opportunism. With a shroud over the enemy's convictions—its belief in a divine summons to implement and spread sharia, by violence when necessary; its aim to conquer America and the West, just as it believes it conquered the Soviet Union—alternative theories of Islamic aggression gained currency.

The center-right settled on fantasy: Islam is a “religion of peace” with no intrinsic summons to aggression; hence, the correlation of Islam and terrorism was mere happenstance, not causation. Indeed, terrorism was nonsensically reframed as “violent extremism”—as if the violence were causing itself. Government officials in the United States and Europe even referred to jihadist brutality as “anti-Islamic” activity. The Bush doctrine was refurbished to prescribe Islam as the solution to our security problem, not a significant contributor to it. Campaigns to defeat the enemy by military and intelligence operations morphed into exercises in sharia-democracy-building, on the bien-pensant theory that Western liberty and Islamic law were seamlessly compatible. (The new constitutions of Afghanistan and Iraq, which the U.S. State Department helped draft, explicitly incorporate sharia human-rights guarantees, they provide that no law that contradicts sharia is valid.)

Meanwhile, the Left took this blow and blamed it on the real culprit threatening American national security was American government policy. This was convenient: the pursuit of U.S. interests; the treatment of terrorism as a military rather than a law-enforcement issue; the deployment of U.S. forces in Muslim countries; the focus on intelligence-gathering; the detention and interrogation of terrorists; the American alliance with Israel and support of its purported “occupation” of “Palestine”; and the failure to engage Iran, Cooperation, a bloc of 57 sharia-promoting Muslim countries

FINAL OFFER!

2015 Gold & Silver American Eagles



2015 \$5 Gold Eagle 1/10 oz. Fine Gold - Limit 10



2015 \$1 Silver Eagle 1 oz. Fine Silver- Limit 20

Official **Gold & Silver** Coins of the *United States of America*

ONLY \$1 OVER DEALER COST

The American Eagle Reserve is proud to offer the 2015 Gold and Silver American Eagles minted at the United States Mint. U.S. citizens can buy these genuine legal tender U.S. government-issued \$5 gold and \$1 silver coins at just \$1.00 over actual dealer cost! That's correct - just \$1 over our actual cost. Please be advised: Our U.S. government gold and silver inventory will be priced at \$1.00 over actual dealer cost only while supplies last. Call 1-877-227-2646 to secure your order today.

If you have been considering protecting your hard-earned money with genuine, legal tender gold and silver fully backed by the U.S. government, now is the time to act! At current market levels, this could be the greatest buying opportunity any of us have ever seen. Smart individuals are moving up to 30% of their assets into gold and silver. Due to the overwhelming demand for gold and silver, there is a strict limit of 20 silver coins and 10 gold coins per household to allow for fair and equal distribution. Special arrangements can be made for individuals wishing to transfer \$50,000 or more into fully-backed U.S. government gold and silver. Call a Precious Metals Specialist at 1-877-227-2646 to take advantage of arguably one of the best gold and silver deals available.

Each brilliant uncirculated coin bears the 2015 date. Their weight, content and purity is fully backed by the United States Government.



www.Aerlooms.com

ORDER NOW!
1-877-227-COIN (2646)

CHECK OR MONEY ORDER



Vault Code:
NRGSE-1015

Price of \$1 over dealer cost at time of transaction. Price plus shipping and insurance. Availability not guaranteed. Coins enlarged to show exquisite detail. Limit of 10 gold coins and 20 silver coins per household. Please read important disclosures found on www.aerlooms.com



Text



MONA CHAREN

The Apology Policy

PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA strutted into the Oval Office utterly convinced of his moral rectitude. Unlike predecessors, Obama would make policy based on an exquisitely calibrated conscience, sensitivity to constitutional norms, and a capacious vision of international unity. Among his first official acts was to sign Executive Order 13492, calling for the Guantanamo Bay detention center to be closed within one year. Terrorists would henceforth be handled “in a manner that is consistent with our values and ideals.” *The New York Times* swooned.

He spoke for most of the Democratic party—certainly the Left. The late Howard Zinn, *Rhope's History of the United States* is still widely assigned in American high schools; democratic movements in the Philippines, Kurdistan, Africa, and colleges, saw the War on Terror as yet another opportunity for America, and beyond. It has come to the rescue of Grenada for American aggression. “Terrorism has replaced Communism as the rationale for the militarization of the country, for military adventures abroad, and for the suppression of civil liberties at home,” he wrote. “It serves the same purpose, righting did not top the Obama administration’s list of concerns to create hysteria.”

A particular kind of blinkered moral preening characterizes the Left’s critique of America. Always on guard against doctrinaire xenophobia—after 9/11, many rushed to decry an anti-Muslim backlash that never actually happened—it channels moral energies into seeking forgiveness from foreign powers against which the U.S. has supposedly sinned.

While doctrinaire leftists are full of righteous wrath about Western imperialism, slavery, racism, and the rest, they also ignore the slavery, racism, and imperialism of Arab civilizations. Arab traders enslaved untold millions of Africans over the centuries. Japan’s wartime propaganda was steeped in racial superiority, and the yoke of Ottoman imperialism on non-Muslims could be harsh. The massacres of Greeks and Armenians at Turkish hands belong in the tragic annals of genocide.

Asians, and Europeans over the centuries. Japan’s wartime propaganda was steeped in racial superiority, and the yoke of Ottoman imperialism on non-Muslims could be harsh. The massacres of Greeks and Armenians at Turkish hands belong in the tragic annals of genocide.

The U.S., like every other nation, has many crimes in its history. But very few of them are recent, and no Democrat proposing to return the American Southwest to Mexico as penance for an expansionist war. It’s precisely our recent history that the Left views astigmatically. John Kerry proclaims proudly that the U.S. will no longer “dictate” to others, as if the world had been living in fear of American aggression.

In fact, while the U.S. has committed its share of blunders in foreign policy, it has, since World War II, more or less consistently deployed its power to shield the weak from the strong. American power was arrayed to protect Western Europe, Greece, and Turkey from the Soviet Union; South Korea from North Korea; South Vietnam from North Vietnam; Taiwan, Japan, and the Philippines from China and the USSR; and Israel from a host of enemies. Along the way, the U.S. extended sup-

MY FIRST ISSUE OF NR

The first time I saw a copy of *NATIONAL REVIEW* was after a football game at my high school, Manheim Township High School, in Neffsville, Pa. It was the fall of 1968 and I was a senior and a trumpet player in the band.

After the game, a fellow band member and I were talking in the parking lot and he showed me a copy of *NR* because we both were on the high-school-newspaper staff and interested in politics. I don’t think it was a big deal back then in conservative Lancaster County, Pa., but today it would probably be like sharing a copy of *Playboy* magazine.

MARK STALNECKER
CENTREVILLE, DEL.

Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist and a senior fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center.

democratic movements in the Philippines, Kurdistan, Africa, and colleges, saw the War on Terror as yet another opportunity for America, and beyond. It has come to the rescue of Grenada for American aggression. “Terrorism has replaced Communism as the rationale for the militarization of the country, for military adventures abroad, and for the suppression of civil liberties at home,” he wrote. “It serves the same purpose, righting did not top the Obama administration’s list of concerns to create hysteria.”

“It is essential that the United States and China have a p

cooperative relationship,” Clinton said. “Successive administrations and Chinese governments have been poised to and forth on these [human-rights] issues, and we have continued to press them. But our pressing on those issues can change crisis, and the security crisis.”

Obama has “reset” relations with Russia, a nation that jails opposition leaders, commits atrocities in Chechnya, seizes the Crimean Peninsula, assists separatists in taking off chunks of Ukraine and shooting a commercial jet liner out of the sky, props up Bashar al-Assad in Syria, supplies advanced anti-aircraft weapons to Iran, and scares Poland and the Baltic states out of their wits.



We, the “guilty” nation eager to make amends, now offer Castro’s Cuba business, diplomatic recognition, and hard cash. In exchange for this, the Cuban regime gives nothing and continues to brutally suppress democratic dissidents. About this, the Left is silent.

In the Middle East, the administration has taken to treating Israel and traditional American allies with contempt while wrapping its arms around Iran, the world’s leading sponsor of terrorism. Through their concordat with the Islamic Republic, the administration and the Democratic party also find themselves, in effect, on the side of Assad’s Syria, which receives crucial support from Iran. That, in turn, strengthens the hand of ISIS, which can claim to be the Sunni strong horse against the Syria-Iran-Russia alliance.

When not truckling to enemies outright, the Left’s foreign-policy thinkers rock gently in a dream world. They imagine that American interventionism is the original sin and are guided by the vacuous maxim “Don’t do stupid [stuff]”—the words with which White House officials are reported to have described Obama’s approach to world affairs. They fancy that wars can be “ended” regardless of whether the enemy shares this desire and believe that appeasement will soften the hardest adversary. The “tide war is receding,” pronounced the deluded commander-in-chief as hundreds of thousands of Syrians were blasted by Iranian-supplied barrel bombs and millions of refugees spilled into neighboring states; as the Taliban recaptured Afghan cities America had liberated; as ISIS gained control of Iraqi oil fields, gibbeted children for breaking the Ramadan fast, and smashed ancient, irreplaceable treasures in Palmyra; as Christians and Yazidis were murdered for their beliefs, women forced into sex slavery, and hostages beheaded or burned alive before the entire world.

A modest United States, stooping under the weight of past offenses, has reduced its military to levels not seen since the 1930s. While technology has altered the calculus of naval power, numbers still matter. Last year, Admiral Jonathan Greenert, then chief of naval operations, testified that the Navy would need 450 ships to meet its worldwide missions; today it has 289, half as many as it did in the last years of the administration. China, among other rivals, has noticed. It harasses the Philippines, Japan, and Vietnam, and builds artificial islands in the South China Sea from which to take control of disputed territories. “It’s my sense that some nations view freedom of the seas as up for grabs,” observed Admiral Scott Swift, commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet. It doesn’t take long for the vultures to circle.

A diminished America has given rise to chaos and acute suffering. The “hands off” policy in Syria and total withdrawal of troops from Iraq have together created a human-rights catastrophe, abandoning the elderly and infirm, their livestock and clysm for the region and an immigration crisis of historic proportions for Europe. The flowering of ISIS in the ungoverned regions of Iraq and Syria is a horror flick come to life, while the nuclear deal’s aggrandizement of Iran plunges the world into a potential nightmare of proliferation or even nuclear war.

Doing penance for imaginary American crimes, the Democratic Left has inflicted real harm. As a geopolitical matter, flight to try to explain that they were bound to be worse off with decline of American power has made the world a far more chaotic place. And as a moral matter, American diffidence has spelled misery and death for hundreds of thousands of human beings, and may yet condemn millions more.

NR me. Only a few weeks later, Yasser Arafat began the armed cam-



DAVID PRYCE-JONES

The Mideast's Plastic Hour

“PLASTIC hour,” in Karl Marx’s useful phrase, occurs when the course of events is so confused and confusing that it could go this way or that, which is the case right now as millions of Muslims flee the Middle East to reach somewhere, anywhere, in Europe. One in four or five are genuine refugees from the fighting in Syria and Iraq. The majority are migrants out to better their circumstances. Taken together, their arrival day after day is a standing vote of no confidence in their own countries. This is a collective phenomenon. An undefined new order is struggling to be born out of a civilization that refuses to die.

As a correspondent during the Six-Day War of June 1967 between Israel and its Arab neighbors, I happened to witness just such a collective phenomenon, admittedly on a scale far smaller

paign that made him the strongman of the Palestinians and put tion, he materialized in the summer of last year at the head of a paid to any idea of peace and a return to former homes.

In the recent death-throe years, Iran, Turkey, and Egypt, the established a power base. Black banners identify them as Sunni major Muslim nation-states in the Middle East, have all three Muslims supposedly doing battle on religious grounds with alternated between Islamism and secular nationalism. Yet whatever Bashar al-Assad and his Iranian sponsors, all defined as Shiites. the ideology is supposed to be, coups, rigged elections, control of Conquering and occupying a large area of Syria and Iraq, and the media, and institutional injustice of every kind are character- proclaims himself caliph of a revived caliphate (also known as istics common to all at all times. Turkey's president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, and Egypt's president, Abdul Fattah al-Sisi, profess belief gious faith in order to engage in a classic territorial dispute. systems that are incompatible, yet they are identical when it comes Imposed ostensibly for the faith, sharia, Muslim law as ordained to rewriting the constitution to suit themselves. The shah of Iran by the Koran, is merely an instrument of control.

was certainly guilty of abusing civil rights, but the ayatollahs who deposed him have ordered the murder of protesters on a far larger and more arbitrary scale. Putting down the so-called Green Revolution, they were evidently able and willing to commit a massacre. A prisoner accused in an Iranian court of the meaningless charges of "waging war on God" and "corrupting the earth" is facing a death sentence. A prisoner accused in a Saudi court of "violating Islamic values" is likely to be beheaded. Saddam Hussein spoke for every Muslim strongman when he defined law as "two lines above my signature." In practice, it makes no difference to the victim if the executioner or torturer is wearing a turban or a military peaked cap with braid.

Between approximately 2008 and 2012, upheavals in at least ten Arab and Muslim countries resulted in estimated totals of 34,500 people shot and killed, 60,000 wounded, and 600,000 refugees. Giving birth to nothing, the Arab Spring turned out to be an extension of the



The Triple Bifurcated Chauvinator was a gift to WFB from an admirer, to assist in enthusiastic flag-waving.

lingering deathbed condition, yet another last gasp. In the case Commanders and their militias in Libya, Mali, Nigeria, and elsewhere of Libya, no strongman has emerged after the lynching of Moammar Qaddafi, and therefore daily life is a Hobbesian free- that he will be capturing New York and Rome, by which he means for-all without even some arbitrary law.

Civil war in Syria and the hapless foreign policy of the great powers gave the anonymous preacher who goes by the name of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi his opportunity. In a textbook illustration the United States and its allies are unable to decide whether these of the way strongmen have always risen in this Muslim civiliza- are little local disturbances or a genuine collective phenomenon.

Such a career has no moral aspect. The supreme but unwritten law has it that the sole effective response to opposition is a higher level of brutality. A captured Jordanian pilot was locked into a cage and burned alive in one of numerous public executions. In front of other intimidated spectators, an 82-year-old archaeologist was beheaded in Palmyra, the Greco-Roman ruin that had been his life's study. Two small boys were gibbeted for eating during the hours of daylight fasting that is a religious obligation during the month of Ramadan. Homosexuals, their hands tied behind their back, are thrown off tall buildings to their death; Yazidis, a defenseless minority with doctrines and rites ultimately derived from Islam, are forced at gunpoint out of their homes, and any captured women sold into sex slavery. Intelligence sources estimate that at least 30,000 young Muslims, male and female, have arrived as volunteers for jihad from about 90 countries; on some days as many as ten suicide bombers coordinate operations to blow themselves up. It works.

the complete Christian world. One of his spokesmen goes further:

When NATIONAL REVIEW published its first issue, a tiny group of thinkers, activists, and politicians made up the conservative movement. Since then, it has grown into a major force in American life. Herewith, a timeline of 60 turning points that, over 60 years, marked or made possible its success.

NOVEMBER 19, 1955



NATIONAL REVIEW is published for the first time. Its 29-year-old editor, William F. Buckley Jr., says the magazine "stands athwart history, yelling Stop, at a time when no one is inclined to do so, or to have much patience with those who so urge it." Buckley edits NATIONAL REVIEW for the next 35 years, making it the nation's leading conservative periodical.

OCTOBER 10, 1957

Random House publishes Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged*, a dystopian novel that galvanizes libertarians and proves enduringly popular. A brutal review by Whittaker Chambers in NATIONAL REVIEW highlights divisions between conservatives and libertarians.

OCTOBER 1, 1958

Aaron Director founds *The Journal of Law and Economics*, launching the most important legal movement in the post-war period. It contends that laws must be evaluated by their economic consequences in addition to their ability to dispense justice.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1960

Young Americans for Freedom holds its first meeting and adopts the Sharon Statement, an expression of conservative principles emphasizing political and economic liberty. Written by M. Stanton Evans, it takes its name from the Connecticut town where Buckley lives.



Syria and Iraq have ceased to exist within the borders created by the British and French a hundred years ago. Hundreds of thousands of people have been killed in both countries, and millions more have fled with no prospect of returning. Europe discovered the collective phenomenon of migration when it was too late to do anything much about it. A middle-ranking Austrian bureaucrat in Brussels with the name of Johannes Hahn and the title of Commissioner for European Neighbourhood Policy announced, “There are 20 million refugees waiting at the doorstep of Europe”—35 million, according to another estimate. Panicking, Jean-Claude Juncker, president of the European Commission, set about imposing quotas for refugees that EU countries are obliged to accept.

It falls to Uzay Bulut, a Turkish journalist (and a born Muslim) well known for her courage and integrity, to ask, “Why should Europe be expected to commit suicide and turn into yet another Muslim land where lives and liberties have no value?” Ninety-six percent of Germans questioned for a poll were in favor of immigration, seemingly out of pity for the underdog and guilt at the general refusal to save the victims of Nazism in the years when it was still possible to do so. At first, Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, said that borders were to stay open and that Germany would accept 800,000 refugees this year. Large numbers of sentimental folk welcomed trains delivering refugees to stations—20,000 on one particular day in Munich alone. But then officials in the various German Länder, or provinces, responsible for the reception and settlement of refugees protested that the system has collapsed under the weight of immigration. Over a weekend, Mrs. Merkel switched policy and closed the frontiers.

One civilizational crisis provokes another. The Hungarian prime minister, Viktor Orban, holds that the Ottoman-Turkish occupation of the country centuries ago is the precedent to bear in mind. Hungary remains a Christian country. Highly critical of Germany and the EU, Orban delivers challenges such as: “We do not like the consequences of having a large number of Muslim communities that we see in other countries, and I do not see any reason for anyone to force us to create ways of living together in Hungary that we do not want to see.” A razor-wire fence along the border between Hungary and Serbia replaces the Iron Curtain of Soviet days. Refugees are allowed only to transit Hungary on their way to Germany or Austria. Politicians and officials constructing what looks like the European Spring treat Orban as an outcast, but public opinion, especially in once-Sovietized Eastern Europe, by and large supports him. And still the refugees and migrants keep coming, and the plastic hour lengthens—just as once the waves of the ocean paid no attention to King Canute’s directives. **NR**

PETER TURNLEY/CORBIS



JOHN McWHORTER

Black America And the Right

WHILE not as uncommon as popularly supposed, the black conservative is ever considered an oxymoron, thought by most people left of center to be deluded at best and evil at worst—and certainly “self-hating.”

As someone who would have been readily classified as liberal on race in about 1960 but who disagrees with the leftist swing of civil-rights orthodoxy since, I have broken bread with conservatives extensively. I am therefore often regarded as a “black conservative” and have been bemused that many reasonable people have sincerely believed that I express my views solely in a quest for lucrative speaking engagements.

*Mr. McWhorter teaches linguistics, philosophy, American studies, and music history at Columbia University. His latest book is *The Language Hoax*.*

FEBRUARY 13, 1962

Buckley begins a series of attacks on the John Birch Society, which he accuses of “damaging the cause of anticomunism.” Buckley’s efforts isolate a fringe element from the conservative movement and confirm the serious purpose of modern conservatism.

JBS

JULY 16, 1964

Barry Goldwater receives the Republican presidential nomination. “Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice,” says the Arizona senator in his acceptance speech. “And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue.” His nomination marks the first success of conservatives within the ranks of the GOP.

OCTOBER 27, 1964

Ronald Reagan delivers an address called “A Time for Choosing,” marking his entry into national politics. “Freedom has never been so fragile,” he says, “so close to slipping from our grasp.” The speech propels Reagan into the governorship of California in 1966.

DECEMBER 18, 1964

The board of the American Conservative Union meets for the first time and launches the most successful conservative lobbying organization of the next generation. In 1973, it holds the first Conservative Political Action Conference, an annual gathering that has become a cattle call for Republican politicians with national ambitions.

Yet, as often noted, black Americans are in fact deeply socially “understood” racism, but whether his policies were, comparatively, better for black people than the other person’s. According to a 2009 Pew Research Center poll. Despite the public image of black people as “ghetto” libertines, overall they tend to be extent to which Antiracism distracts us from what actual policies are more openly opposed to premarital sex than many other groups are. Black America has been slow to accept homosexuality and I myself do not adhere to) is not the only thing black people and gay marriage. Social views that blue-state Americans describe, with a chill, as “Republican” are often held by a majority of the black Americans whom those same blue-state Americans think warmly of as “real.”

That such a rationale seems backward today reveals the gap in school performance and faith-based initiatives as a little purchase among ordinary black people. Few have any way to help poor black communities help themselves. Yet interest in the fantasy of reparations for slavery. Most black people, if presented with the proposition that we need something as unprecedented in human history as the absence of racism (social or institutional) to solve our problems, would recoil.

The reason black America nevertheless votes Democratic

proposing No Child Left Behind as a way to address the racial

gap in school performance and faith-based initiatives as a little purchase among ordinary black people. Few have any way to help poor black communities help themselves. Yet interest in the fantasy of reparations for slavery. Most black people, if presented with the proposition that we need something as unprecedented in human history as the absence of racism (social or institutional) to solve our problems, would recoil.

After mentioning the Bush administration’s pro-black policies

in print around 2003, I received a tart note from the editor of

a prominent black publication asking what policies I could possibly be referring to.

Only the religion of Antiracism could have blinded him to almost to a man is, in its way, religious. As I have argued, onesomething at the time so obvious. One might suppose black people fear that Republicans will eliminate the safety net that the doomsayers insist is that the nation’s true religion is now Anti-Roosevelt and Johnson administrations provided for the poor racism. In whites, it manifests itself as treating the Manichaean and, therefore, much of black America. However, any such fear pessimism of a book such as Ta-Nehisi Coates’s latest as scripture; urging ritualistic atonement for original sin in the form of ulus. Progress happens slowly, but it happens; a party that sought “acknowledging” one’s White Privilege; discouraging the blasphemy of serious questions (such as why one white cop’s killing one another by the hundreds); and yearning always for a matter to most people other than policy wonks and social scientists a more urgent problem than black men’s welfare policies in 1996 was not an exception: It was an obscure killing one another by the hundreds); and yearning always for a matter to most people other than policy wonks and social scientists hazily defined Great Day, a Revelation (whoops, revolution), tists, and it did not lead to the misery and indigence that skeptics when whites “out there” truly understand black pain and walk had predicted.

in grace.

At this point, however, Republicans bear a heavy responsibility for perpetuating the disconnect between black beliefs and

ability for perpetuating the disconnect between black beliefs and black voting patterns. Today, a claim that Republican policies about being black. This sense is most vivid among the intelligentsia and the politically radical. But it has become part of the general black-American way of thinking to such an extent that one is not to vote for a Republican, regardless of his beliefs and harder for their most dependable allies to cast a vote, these platform, simply because “Republicans are racist.”

In seeking to reduce Democratic voting tallies by making voter-ID policies are brutally pragmatic more than racist. The

As progressive as it may seem today to treat racism as a decisive issue in allotting one’s vote, it would have seemed self-defeating to black people 50 or 100 years ago. W. E. B. Du Boispeople were barred from voting on the pain of their bodies and supported Woodrow Wilson despite knowing that Wilson was a racist whose ideal world would be “inhabited by flaxen-haired wax dolls.” Martin Luther King Jr. and his allies had no interest from doing so. Claims that voter-ID laws take us back to Selma in whether John F. Kennedy felt for black people’s plight “in his heart,” as the Black Lives Matter questioner put it to Hillary Clinton in August. The idea was not whether a candidate

Yet the distinction here is fine, and few black people or other Democrats will be inclined to acknowledge it in a culture that

OCTOBER 25, 1965



Irving Kristol and Daniel Bell release the first issue of *The Public Interest*, a domestic-affairs quarterly in which neoconservatives—labeled “mugged by reality,” in Kristol’s definition—express dissatisfaction with Great Society liberalism. It publishes continuously for four decades, until 2005.

NOVEMBER 2, 1965

Buckley loses his race for mayor of New York City. Asked what he will do if he prevails, he quips: “Demand a recount.” His campaign reinvigorates conservatives demoralized by Goldwater’s defeat a year earlier and helps establish him as a public intellectual.

APRIL 30, 1966

Buckley’s public-affairs program *Firing Line* makes its debut, going on to become the longest-running television show of its type when it ends in 1999. It showcases Buckley’s skills as a debater and introduces conservative ideas to a mass audience.



fetishizes the exposure and denunciation of racism. Voter-ID laws are resolutely interpreted as “racist,” and they have set the relationship between black voters and the Republican party back for at least a generation. In the religion of Antiracism, the equivalent of the ongoing menace of Satan is the notion of an ever-looming “backlash” against the gains of the 1960s, led by Republicans and desired by the unenlightened whites, always “out there,” who didn’t vote for Obama. Nothing has ever been more readily interpretable as that vision come to life than voter-ID laws.

Of course, some Republicans, pragmatic again, might object that none of this matters because blacks could never have been swayed to vote for them anyway. But that is an untested proposition. Republicans have been much too indirect in demonstrating the benefits of their policies to black voters. Antiracism is not the only reason that editor couldn’t see the Bush administration’s pro-black programs. The administration had failed to spell out the implications of those programs for black America in a direct and ongoing way. One speech to that effect by the president could have done wonders; it never happened.

The problem continues today. Paul Ryan’s plan for fighting poverty could easily pass for an NAACP policy paper. Black America will never know a thing about it, however, if Ryan continues to refer only to poverty and not to race. Why not a clear statement that the plan, in being aimed at poverty, will benefit black America directly, along with editorials stating this in black publications? Meanwhile, the Antiracism religion handily paints Ryan’s plan as paternalistic, pathologizing, and—of course—racist.

For the time being, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the caricature of the black conservative as a sinister unicorn has a lot of life left in it. There was a time when black persons with unquestionable black-authenticity bona fides, such as author Zora Neale Hurston, were fans of Booker T. Washington—advocate of self-help—rather than of Du Bois, who focused on decrying racism. Today, a rallying book such as Tavis Smiley’s *The Covenant with Black America* incants at the end of each chapter that black people must hold politicians “responsible” for following through on promises to the black community. Buleviathans with voting for racist Republicans off the table and not voting dollars. They stir up a media frenzy about present or future counts, the ozone layer, and so on); get their most articulate holding a Democrat “responsible” is meaningless.

The voter-ID laws, combined with the forces of America’s true religion, will keep black America in this holding pattern for some time. But it is to be hoped that someday black America will Mr. Ridley, the author of *The Evolution of Everything*, has written about back to expressing its diversity—i.e., itself—in its politi NR climate change and other scientific topics for more than 25 years.

ROMAN GENN

NOVEMBER 28, 1972
Robert Bartley becomes editorial-page editor of the *Wall Street Journal*. He extends the influence of his predecessor, Vermont Royster, and makes his editorial page a bullhorn of conservative opinion, especially on economic policy.

FEBRUARY 16, 1973

The Heritage Foundation opens its doors. Under the leadership of Edwin J. Feulner, who becomes its president in 1977, it grows into one of the conservative movement’s most important think tanks.



DECEMBER 28, 1973



A Paris publisher issues, in Russian, *The Gulag Archipelago*, by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. The book highlights the atrocities of the Soviet Union against its people and delivers a devastating blow to its moral and political legitimacy.

JANUARY 1, 1974

George F. Will publishes his first syndicated column and goes on to become one of the most influential voices of his generation, both as a writer and as a fixture on televised political talk shows.



Text

MATT RIDLEY

Climate Coercion

PREDICTING catastrophe is a lucrative business. By doing so, the big environmental groups, such as Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth, the World Wildlife Fund, and the Sierra Club, have grown into Buleviathans with annual budgets in the hundreds of millions of dollars. They stir up a media frenzy about present or future counts, the ozone layer, and so on); get their most articulate

counts, the ozone layer, and so on); get their most articulate holding a Democrat “responsible” is meaningless. The voter-ID laws, combined with the forces of America’s true religion, will keep black America in this holding pattern for some time. But it is to be hoped that someday black America will Mr. Ridley, the author of *The Evolution of Everything*, has written about back to expressing its diversity—i.e., itself—in its politi NR climate change and other scientific topics for more than 25 years.

gimmick involving rappelling; and sit back and watch the dollars roll in.

What is different about the present climate scare is twofold.

First, the mainstream scientific community joined in. Scientists had been the enemy in some previous scares, for example finding themselves mostly at odds with environmentalists over genetically modified organisms. But this time, academics were part of the funding gold rush—and not just climate making excuses for failure, is what distinguishes pseudo-scientists, but almost every type of academic. Biologists found science from science. But it's now routine in climate science. that grants came their way if they said they were studying butterflies or turtles with a view to understanding the impact of climate warming that even mainstream scientists agree has occurred change. Sociologists found that they could trouser big sums just roughly since 1997.

for studying why people didn't "believe" in climate change. You can now get degrees in "climate communication"—whatever that is. And so on. Climate science, once a quiet backwater, exploded into a huge scientific endeavor, reaching something

in the comparatively distant future, predictions of it are largely immune to debunking. The failure of the climate over the past three decades to warm anywhere nearly as fast as predicted has mattered little. Activists just reached for some excuse to explain away the dearth of warming and then asserted that the future would be even worse than we had thought.

That's a scientific sin. Making predictions that fail, and then That's a scientific sin. Making predictions that fail, and then flies or turtles with a view to understanding the impact of climate warming that even mainstream scientists agree has occurred change. Sociologists found that they could trouser big sums just roughly since 1997.

This pause was not predicted. In fact, several prominent climate scientists have stated that a pause of more than 15 years would undermine the claim that anthropogenic climate change poses a danger. Here's what one of them, Phil Jones, head of the Climatic Research Unit at the University of East Anglia, wrote in 2009, when the pause was only a decade old: "Bottom line: the 'no upward trend' has to continue for a total of 15 years before we get worried" that climate projections are inaccurate. A statement from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration asserted in 2008 that its simulations "rule out (at the 95% level) zero trends for intervals of 15 yr or more." The pause is now around 18 years long.

Some observers are eager to declare that the pause has ended, since it's looking like 2015 will prove to be the warmest year yet, by a few tenths of a degree, in at least some of the surface-data sets (although not necessarily in the satellite data). But another way of putting this is that, in this era of supposedly rapid climate change, it has taken 18 years for the global average temperature to clearly break the record it set in 1998. Whether this represents

the start of a surge in temperatures or a resumption of the gradual warming of the 1990s remains to be seen.

like \$2 billion per year in federal funding today. And it has turned the start of a surge in temperatures or a resumption of the gradual warming of the 1990s remains to be seen.

elbowed aside and best practices are disregarded.

The line between environmentalist and scientist has become blurred. Several prominent climate scientists moonlight doing paid work for Greenpeace or the World Wildlife Fund. In one case that sense—that climate models have overestimated the sensitivity of recently came to light, a climatologist named Jagadish Shukla, on the climate to carbon dioxide and underestimated natural influence. He had a six-figure salary from George Mason University, spent his spare time as president of his own global-climate-change institute, which was partly natural and that the warming of the 21st century will

was so massively endowed with federal funds that he was able to be less than expected—is strongly resisted. draw down as salary over \$1.5 million in three years for himself, his wife, and his daughter. This came to light only after he had had the theory, seeking evidence that supports it, and ignoring evidence

cheek to sign a letter demanding that those who contested the dangers of climate change be prosecuted under organized-crime laws.

The second difference between the climate scare and previous theories. But they do challenge one another's, and that's what environmental panics is that, because this catastrophe is always keeps science honest.



Until he acquired his first word processor in the early Nineties, WFB wrote all his books, columns, and articles on Fifties-model Royal typewriters. This is the one that lived in his office at NR.

More than 20 "explanations" of the pause have now been published in the scientific literature, many of them little more than hand-waving guesses. But the explanation that makes the most

influence on climate, implying both that the warming of the 1990s does not. This is a normal human tendency known as "confirmation bias." It is a myth that scientists challenge their own

theories. But they do challenge one another's, and that's what environmental panics is that, because this catastrophe is always keeps science honest.

JANUARY 22, 1974

Nellie Gray leads the first March for Life in Washington, D.C., one year after the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision. The march becomes an annual event, attracting hundreds of thousands of participants—if not much attention from mainstream media.

OCTOBER 9, 1974



Friedrich Hayek wins the Nobel Prize in Economics. A native of Vienna and a father of "Austrian economics," Hayek came to renown in the United States for his 1944 book, *The Road to Serfdom*, which warned that central planning can lead to tyranny. He resisted the label "conservative," preferring "classical liberal."

JANUARY 30, 1976

In *Buckley v. Valeo*, the Supreme Court strikes down limits on campaign spending on First Amendment grounds. The plaintiff is Senator James Buckley, a New York Republican and the big brother of NATIONAL REVIEW's founder. In 2010, the Supreme Court extends the ruling in *Citizens United*.

MARCH 23, 1976

Following several defeats, Reagan wins North Carolina's Republican presidential primary, keeping alive his hope of capturing the GOP nomination from incumbent Gerald Ford. He fails in this immediate goal, but the win sets him up for success four years later.

And that is where certain climate scientists pulled off a trick. There's Stephan Lewandowsky, who, while at the University of Western Australia, tried to link climate skepticism to the belief in a "consensus," and deny funding, publication, and support to anybody that the moon landing was a hoax, when his own data showed who dissented from it. They did so through the United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, whose comprehensive reports have defined what one may and may not say about change was a hoax.

the changing climate.

As Professor Judith Curry of Georgia Tech, a distinguished climatologist who has broken ranks with the mainstream, has put it: "One of the norms of science is organized skepticism." Those working at the climate science–policy interface (including glaciologist, V. K. Raina, about Himalayan glaciers because the IPCC) have worked hard to kill organized skepticism by the year 2035. This claim originally came from Syed Hasnain, who had taken a job with the Energy and Resources Institute, of

This trick is subtle, because the consensus actually acknowledges the possibility that global warming will be harmless, or even beneficial, for many decades: It gives a range of possible outcomes. But while most scientists know this, very few laymen, politicians, or journalists do. President Obama, for example, tweeted that 97 percent of scientists "agree that climate change is real, man-made, and dangerous." That third adjective is simply untrue.

Speaking of Obama, he is keen on criticizing those who think the climate-change threat is exaggerated, often calling them "deniers." Yet he recently told the audience at a town-hall meeting in Des Moines that his own experience of universities was of China; the "upside down" Scandinavian lake core, a case in "this space where you could interact with people who didn't agree with you and had different backgrounds from you. . . . I changed my mind." Except on climate change, apparently.

The list of scandals in climate studies is now embarrassingly long. There's the case of John Cook, of the University of Queensland, and his co-authors, whose peer-reviewed paper showing a consensus of scientists agreeing on climate data series; the infamous "hide the decline" episode, in which a change used an unrepresentative sample, left out much data, and used biased observers to categorize the data, and used a methodology that allowed the authors to adjust their preliminary conclusions as they went along. When others could not replicate the findings, Cook threatened legal action to hide his data.

There's the case of Peter Gleick, of the Pacific Institute in Oakland, Calif., who stole the identity of a member of a skeptical think tank, adding to them a "strategy memo" that proved to be a forgery. Of course, most climate scientists are honest and principled. (Gleick said that he had not forged the memo himself, and no charges of forgery were filed against him.) He remains a respected climate scientist.

which Pachauri is the director general, and whose presence there edges the possibility that global warming will be harmless, or even beneficial, for many decades: It gives a range of possible outcomes. But while most scientists know this, very few laymen, politicians, or journalists do. President Obama, for example, tweeted that 97 percent of scientists "agree that climate change is real, man-made, and dangerous." That third adjective is simply untrue.

There's the famous "hockey stick" graph, which purportedly demonstrate that 20th-century temperatures were unprecedented, but was later shown to rely heavily on just a few misleading tree-ring data sets and on a statistical filter that exaggerated recent changes.

Speaking of Obama, he is keen on criticizing those who think the climate-change threat is exaggerated, often calling them "deniers." Yet he recently told the audience at a town-hall meeting in Des Moines that his own experience of universities was of China; the "upside down" Scandinavian lake core, a case in "this space where you could interact with people who didn't agree with you and had different backgrounds from you. . . . I changed my mind." Except on climate change, apparently.

There are the adjustments to temperature records to make the temperatures appear cooler than it was; the paper cited by the IPCC that was based partly on nonexistent data from 49 weather stations in Des Moines that his own experience of universities was of China; the "upside down" Scandinavian lake core, a case in "this space where you could interact with people who didn't agree with you and had different backgrounds from you. . . . I changed my mind." Except on climate change, apparently.

There are the adjustments to temperature records to make the temperatures appear cooler than it was; the paper cited by the IPCC that was based partly on nonexistent data from 49 weather stations in Des Moines that his own experience of universities was of China; the "upside down" Scandinavian lake core, a case in "this space where you could interact with people who didn't agree with you and had different backgrounds from you. . . . I changed my mind." Except on climate change, apparently.

There are the adjustments to temperature records to make the temperatures appear cooler than it was; the paper cited by the IPCC that was based partly on nonexistent data from 49 weather stations in Des Moines that his own experience of universities was of China; the "upside down" Scandinavian lake core, a case in "this space where you could interact with people who didn't agree with you and had different backgrounds from you. . . . I changed my mind." Except on climate change, apparently.

And then there's Climategate, the scandal in which leaked e-mails revealed that senior climate scientists had repeatedly bullied and ostracized colleagues who had not toed the line.

With few exceptions, the media have chosen to ignore all of these stories or portray the people who uncovered them as the institute's board of directors and leaked confidential documents, true villains. But the apparent lack of interest at top science academies in doing something about the bad apples is disturbing. It has certainly shaken my faith in science as an institution.

NR

APRIL 28, 1976

The John M. Olin Foundation approves its first major round of grants to conservative academic groups, think tanks, and public-interest law firms. Over the next decades, it builds what longtime president William E. Simon calls a "counterintelligence" of thinkers and activists.

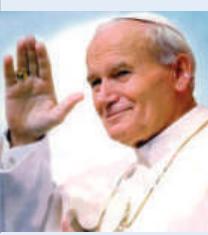
JANUARY 1, 1977

The Cato Institute opens in San Francisco and five years later moves to Washington, D.C., where it establishes itself as the country's premier libertarian think tank, making common cause with conservatives on a range of budgetary, regulatory, and economic matters.

JUNE 6, 1978

Frustrated by sharp rises in property taxes, California voters approve Proposition 13. It limits taxes and marks the start of a nationwide "tax revolt."

OCTOBER 16, 1978



The papacy of John Paul II begins. He upholds traditional Catholic teachings, rejects the moral relativism of the age, and works to undermine Communism in his native Poland and throughout Eastern Europe. He dies in 2005 and is canonized in 2014.



Text



CHARLES G. KOCH

Freedom's Framework

THE natural progress of things,” wrote Thomas Jefferson, “is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground.” Whatever our differences, William F. Buckley Jr. and I often found ourselves in the same trenches as we fought for a free society against a grasping government. Also like him, I have a “considerable—and considered—optimism” that freedom can overcome the collectivism that has taken hold in the classroom, civil society, and halls of American government.

Mr. Koch is the chairman and CEO of Koch Industries Inc. His book *Good Profit: How Creating Value for Others Built One of the World's Most Successful Companies* was published in October.



Phyllis Schlafly rallies grassroots support to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment. The top political priority of feminists in the 1970s, the ERA aimed to abolish the use of sex as a factor in determining the legal rights of individuals.

I have always been optimistic that freedom can prevail. That optimism is based on my conviction that the cause of freedom is just and can unite a majority of Americans. Previous freedom movements—the American Revolution, the abolition of slavery, the women's-suffrage movement, the civil-rights movement—all succeeded because they struck a moral chord with the American people. They all sought to right an injustice. Those of us who pursue freedom today must be similarly motivated. We must right the injustices that are holding our country back—the injustices that are preventing so many Americans, especially the least fortunate, from pursuing and achieving their dreams.

To make this a reality, we must establish a vision of a free and flourishing society—something that guides and inspires not only those who are like-minded but the nation as a whole.

In a free society, people help themselves by helping others. Social and material progress is driven by innovation and creative destruction, which leads to new and exciting opportunities for everyone. Societies that best approximate these ideals have proven to be the most successful at achieving widespread well-being—especially for the least fortunate.

But vision alone cannot create a free society. We also need a strong culture of principled entrepreneurship grounded in the belief that people can find fulfillment by benefiting others. This requires a deep respect for the moral dignity of all individuals, no matter their station in life. Similarly, toleration is a hallmark of a free society. It enables not only the community but the interactions necessary for human progress.

Ultimately, a free society cannot exist without secure individual rights, including property rights and equal treatment for everyone under the law. These encourage the efforts, investments, and risk-taking that make free societies so innovative and productive. The role of government should be limited to those activities in which voluntary cooperation and competition are insufficient. Cooperation and competition are impossible without free speech and free markets undistorted by the subsidies or anti-welfare. They also require an environment that fosters challenging the status quo. It is the open flow of knowledge that leads to innovations that increase well-being throughout society.

Finally, a free society requires that all of its members have the right incentives. Social and material progress is possible only when people benefit themselves by benefiting others. Whether someone's motives are altruistic, self-interested, or a mixture of both, free societies encourage mutually beneficial behavior and

MARCH 22, 1979

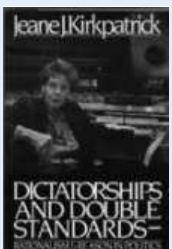


Margaret Thatcher becomes prime minister of the United Kingdom. She focuses on privatization and deregulation at home and on confronting Communism abroad. The second-most important prime minister of the 20th century, after Winston Churchill, she serves until 1990.

MAY 4, 1979

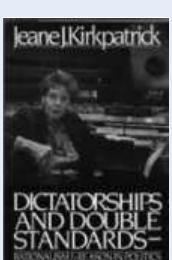
JUNE 1, 1979

NOVEMBER 1, 1979



Commentary publishes “Dictatorships and Double Standards,” an essay by Jeane Kirkpatrick that proposes fundamental differences between autocratic and Communist regimes. The essay animates the foreign policy of the Reagan administration.

Jerry Falwell founds Moral Majority, mobilizing Christian voters and ushering Evangelicals into GOP politics, where they become a potent influence on the party in the 1980s and beyond.





discourage attempts to gain at the expense of others by cheating or advocating self-serving laws and regulations.

These items taken together, I believe, constitute the framework for a free society. This framework must be applied holistically in order for society (especially the least fortunate) to benefit. The best incentives in the world can't offset a lack of vision, and so a whole loses if the law treats one group differently from another. As we apply this framework, we must do a better job of understanding what matters most to people, then demonstrate how a free society offers the best opportunity for them to achieve their goals.

This approach will inevitably take us beyond the issues around which conservatives have reached broad consensus. One such example is criminal-justice reform, which has gained wider traction in recent years because it addresses the essential issues of justice, fairness, and morality. It is also consistent with the foundational principles of a free society.

The modern criminal-justice system was created by the same force that afflicts the rest of America: overbearing government at every level of society. After decades of growth, the federal criminal code contains roughly 5,000 criminal laws and hundreds of thousands of regulations with criminal penalties. State criminal codes, which are multiplying every year, only compound the problem.

As a result, the United States is the world's biggest jailer—first in the world for total number imprisoned and first among industrialized nations in the rate of incarceration. We have only 5 percent of the world's population but 25 percent of the world's prisoners. As of 2013, America had roughly 2.2 million people in local, state, and federal prisons—500 percent more than we had 30 years ago. All told, this system costs taxpayers a staggering \$39 billion annually.

We must take steps to address this crisis. Doing so will save tax dollars while enhancing public safety. It will also promote human dignity. As Mr. Buckley so eloquently put it: "The amount of money and legal energy being given to prosecute hundreds of thousands of Americans who are caught with a few ounces of marijuana in their jeans simply makes no sense—the kindest way to put it. A sterner way to put it is that it is an outrage, an imposition on basic civil liberties and on the reasonable expenditure of social energy."

No matter what issue we address, those of us who fight for simple justice must renew and increase our commitment to the cause. **W**hen the presidential election of 1980 came around, the Founding Fathers, Frederick Douglass, Susan B. Anthony, Martin Luther King Jr., and the thousands of others who led successful movements were willing to dedicate their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. Their struggles and sacrifices united people in the vision of a better tomorrow. Theirs is the example that we must follow if we hope to advance the cause of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for future generations of Americans.



ROB LONG

The Twitter Trap

TOP me if you've heard this story: A die-hard progressive living in a liberal enclave (usually when this story is told, it's about the *New Yorker* film critic Pauline Kael on the Upper West Side of Manhattan) cannot understand how it happened that a Republican

"How could he win?" goes the story. "Nobody I know voted for him!"

And then those of us on the right chuckle meanly about the liberal-progressive-urban-media enclave. We tut-tut the elitist disdain they all have for someplace called "real America." We fill ourselves with the sputtering ratings of left-leaning CNN, the black hole of viewership that is MSNBC, the soaring profits of

TIM ROBERTS/GETTY IMAGES

JANUARY 11, 1980
The ten-part documentary *Free to Choose* begins to appear on PBS stations. Its host, the free-market economist Milton Friedman, evangelizes for capitalism and becomes a household name.

NOVEMBER 4, 1980



Ronald Reagan wins the presidency in what may be the most important political moment in the history of modern American conservatism. He defeats Jimmy Carter, the Democratic incumbent, and carries 44 states. His reelection in 1984 is even more sweeping.

AUGUST 13, 1981

Reagan signs the Kemp-Roth tax bill, cutting marginal tax rates and paving the way for the economic prosperity of the 1980s. Its Republican sponsors, Representative Jack Kemp of New York and Senator William V. Roth Jr. of Delaware, guide the bill through Congress despite a large Democratic majority in the House.

MARCH 1, 1982

The Atlantic publishes "Broken Windows," an article on crime control by James Q. Wilson and George Kelling. It helps lay the groundwork for a significant drop in crime that begins in the early 1990s and continues still.

Fox News. We tell ourselves that all it really takes for conservatives to win back the country is to communicate effectively or utilize better messaging or leverage social-media platforms or some other faddish nonsense. All we need, we tell ourselves, is to get heard and reported by the suspicious progressives who connect with the millions of people who already agree with us.

Which now, of course, we can do easily. Conservative activists

and pundits—and even those who, for some personality-distorting reason, merely aspire to be in those categories—can tweet or post on Facebook or podcast directly to their audiences. As each

little insight into the day's events (what media types call a "hohum" that I thought we were going to lose the next election. "I take") trails through the sky like a comet, it collects "likes" and mean, I've got, like, fifty thousand Twitter followers!"

"retweets" and "shares" and "follows," and the result is that there are lots of people out there with an astonishing number of online followers—hundreds of thousands of people listening to the not-very-much-new that they have to say.

All of those crisscrossing and overlapping networks mean that conservatives no longer have to hope that there's someone in the newsroom—probably someone terrified and cowed—willing to represent a wisp of a trace of a shadow of a slightly conservative viewpoint. We don't have to hope for equal time. We've created pithy "Gotcha!" tweet and get it out there it ourselves, not just in the one-size-fits-all Fox News network—on which every warm wind is *Stormwatch!* and every overseas gunshot is *ISIS Is Coming to Murder Your Children*, but in the Twitter followings of NATIONAL REVIEW writers that intersect with unknown clever bloggers and witty conservatives across the country. Twitter and Facebook positively hum and ripple with exchanges between and among conservative celebrities and the people we in show business call "civilians."

And this, we're told, is progress.

I'm not so sure.

For years, the secret weapon of the conservative movement has been that we've known, deep down, that most Americans don't agree with us. Oh, yes, they love the flag-waving stuff and the punchy bromides, but when it comes to cutting government programs or slicing entitlements or running a flintier and stingier welfare state, Americans tend to opt for the softer, more progressive option. Conservatives have accepted this, somewhere in their dark hearts, for the past 50 years and have become, essentially, bilingual. We've developed the ability to talk to liberals uptight scolds—knew that the road to liberty and a better America and progressives in their own idiom. We didn't have millions of followers somewhere to retweet our tweets and "like" our tax was a slow, hard trudge, often backward, and the road to serfdom was a fun little glide down the waterslide of entitlement spending plans. We had to do the hard work of getting in a van—probably and women's-studies classes. But lately, we've become a little bit cold and wet and hard to reach from LaGuardia or more like the out-of-touch progressive in that hilarious story. In a Reagan National—and going out to meet Americans who—let's face it—like them a little bit of federally supplied sugar. And I mean "sugar" in both the metaphorical sense—ethanol subsidies

and Medicare Part D and refundable tax credits—and the literal sense, the sweet white stuff that gets a lot of federal attention.

We had to talk a certain way, master a complicated code, to ran (and still run, though no one is paying attention) the nation's newsrooms.

Now we don't. And we think we're winning. And that's a problem.

"We can't lose!" a conservative activist told me when I told him that I thought we were going to lose the next election. "I

He didn't mean that his puny 50k was going to turn the tide in Ohio and sweep the Republican nominee to victory. He was describing the network effect of a lot of individuals with a lot of followers multiplied many times over. What if, he was saying,

Stalins even know what happened? What if in response to each daily outrage and distortion the Left tosses out, we can type a pithy "Gotcha!" tweet and get it out there

He was describing, when you get right down to it, cat videos. And also: Donald Trump. (The two are closely related.)

But cat videos are fun to click on. (So is Trump.) They're short bursts of entertainment, and they don't really do anything. (Neither does Trump.) What our side forgets is that persuading people is hard and difficult and often requires a dollop of forgetfulness in the details ("We absolutely can grow our way out of this debt! No tax shenanigans necessary!") and a splash of compromise ("Of course everyone in America should have health insurance!") on the way to real action. And real action is different

from tweeting a lot or slamming some progressive right in his @replies, and here's a handy way to tell the difference: You can't change the country or renew its free-market zeal or reform its entitlement spending plans. We had to do the hard work of getting in a van—probably and women's-studies classes. But lately, we've become a little bit cold and wet and hard to reach from LaGuardia or more like the out-of-touch progressive in that hilarious story. In a Reagan National—and going out to meet Americans who—let's face it—like them a little bit of federally supplied sugar. And I mean "sugar" in both the metaphorical sense—ethanol subsidies

and Medicare Part D and refundable tax credits—and the literal

Just like . . . well, you get the picture.

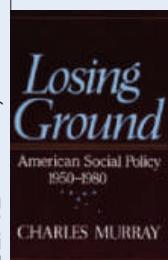
NR

Conservative law students at Yale University begin the Federalist Society. The group organizes students, lawyers, and judges, transforming the politics of the judiciary and serving as a counterweight to an increasingly left-wing American Bar Association.



Giving a speech in Florida, Reagan describes the Soviet Union as an "evil empire." Two weeks later, he announces the Strategic Defense Initiative, a missile-defense proposal that becomes a defining feature of conservative national-security strategy.

The United States invades Grenada, responding to a left-wing coup. Coming amid Reagan's defense build-up, the military action demonstrates the United States' ability and willingness to project power and ends American policymakers' aversion to confrontation abroad.



Basic Books publishes Charles Murray's *Losing Ground*, a data-driven indictment of the welfare state, launching a welfare-reform movement that will enjoy success on the federal level a dozen years later.



RUSH LIMBAUGH

A Conservative-Media Revolution

WHEN I arrived in New York City 28 years ago to begin my national radio program, my objective was to have the most-listened-to show in the country. At that time, the national broadcast media included three television networks and CNN. That

it. There were 125 radio stations doing talk radio, and I was on 56 of them. No one had ever succeeded in syndicating a national daytime radio show, and I was predicted to fail,

But I didn't. What was different about my show was that it was the only conservative voice in national broadcast media. It was the first time in 40 years that a conservative magazine being published and read.

Mr. Limbaugh hosts the most-listened-to radio talk show in America, airing on more than 600 stations.

NOVEMBER 5, 1985
Michael Joyce becomes president of the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, which underwrites much of the academic work and activism behind welfare reform and school choice. By the early 21st century, it is the most important financial backer of conservative public policy.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1986

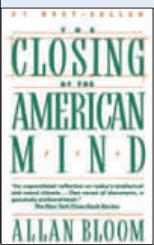
The Senate confirms Antonin Scalia to the Supreme Court. Over the next three decades, he becomes the country's most forceful voice for judicial originalism, famous for his intellectual rigor, cogent majority opinions, and blistering dissents.

DECEMBER 4, 1986

The struggling American Enterprise Institute appoints Christopher C. DeMuth as its president. He turns it into one of the most important sources of intellectual ammunition for the Right.



JUNE 7, 1987



The Closing of the American Mind, by Allan Bloom, becomes a surprise best-seller. A book-length version of an essay Bloom wrote for NATIONAL REVIEW, it warns of declining intellectual standards and neglect of the Western canon at American universities.

I traveled 45 weekends each year for the first two years of my show to solidify my radio-affiliate relationships. Think Donald Trump's stump appearances, 45 weekends a year in cities all across America. Crowds ranged from 2,500 to 10,000 or more. I made fun of liberals, espoused and explained conservatism, and promoted traditional American values. And audiences ate it up; they had been starved for it.

In 1991, my substitute hosts were offered their own national shows as other syndicators got in on the action. Local-radio stations all over the country switched format to talk and hired conservative hosts.

Today, there are more than 2,500 stations doing talk radio, the vast majority of which lean conservative. There is Fox News, which debuted in 1997. There is the conservative blogosphere, and there are more conservative websites than you can count. In 1992, I began hosting a national TV show and continued to do so for the next four years *The Daily Show*, except that I was conservative and did not interview guests. There was nothing like it on TV, just as there was nothing like my radio show.

So this has not been an AM-radio revolution exclusively; it has been a conservative-media revolution. And perhaps its greatest consequence has been the destruction of the Left's national-media monopoly.

Here are a few highlights:

In 1990, one of my dreams came true. William F. Buckley Jr. invited me to his home to attend an editors' dinner, befriended me, and remained my friend until his death. I loved WFB, and his friendship and support sustain me to this day.

In 1993, while aboard Air Force One, President Clinton called my St. Louis affiliate, KMOX, to complain that I had agitated hours each day on the radio and that there was no truth detector responding to me.

Also in 1993, Clinton, at the White House Correspondents' Dinner, called me a racist for the way I had criticized John Gutfreund's attack on Janet Reno in a congressional hearing. I also attended the FBI's raid of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas. "Rush only defended her because she was being attacked by a black guy," Clinton said. The room reacted with silence. I have not bothered to attend the dinner since. In 1994, Republicans won the House of Representatives for the first time in 40 years. I was made an honorary member of the GOP freshman class and was asked to speak at its orientation. I warned them that the media were not happy, would not treat them as victors, and would do their best to secure Republican defeat in 1996.

In 1995, Clinton, in a national address, tried to blame the Oklahoma City bombing. He spoke of “loud, angry in America,” a remark that was widely interpreted as a reference to me. The White House later made the incredible claim that Clinton had been talking about Michigan Militia shortwave radio communications.

In 2007, Senate majority leader Harry Reid asked the syndicator, Clear Channel, make me apologize for calling phony soldier a phony soldier. Mark May, the CEO of Channel, bravely let me have Reid’s letter, and I auctioned it on eBay as proof of a United States senator’s attempt to silence a private citizen for exercising his freedom of speech. I proceeded to match the purchase price of the letter and donate the proceeds to the Marine Corps Law Enforcement Fund. The price ended up being an unbelievable \$2.1 million dollars, so the total amount raised was \$4.2 million. Thank you, Dingy Harry.

On January 16, 2009, *Wall Street Journal* asked me to write 400 words on my hopes for the Obama presidency. All they needed were four: “I hope he fails.” A firestorm ensued even among my friends. I stood by my words, proudly. Good they didn’t come true.

In 2009, at his first meeting at the White House with congressional leaders, President Obama told House speaker John Boehner and the Republican congressional leadership that they should “stop listening to Rush Limbaugh,” since “that’s how things get done in Washington.” I met with Boehner in my office in Florida a couple of weeks later. He confirmed the president’s statement and remarked, “We have no idea why he said that to us.” I said to him, “John, he wanted just one of you to leave that meeting, go to the microphones, and denounce me.”

And there is much more. Its consequences are unmistakable. I firmly believe that the conservative-media revolution has caused the liberal media to abandon any pretense of objectivity and fairness and actively advocate on the Left’s behalf. This has led in turn to the hyper-partisan nature of our politics today. When Republicans were perennial losers and happy about it, the media could stay hidden behind their wall of phony objectivity. But they were called out. Now there is a fierce competition for the hearts and minds of the American people which the Left used to believe it owned.

So it is not I, nor anyone else in conservatism, who is to blame for the partisanship in Washington. That is on the Democrats and the Left, for trying to destroy the traditions of this great nation, and we always will. And we look forward to the Republican party’s someday joining us.

ROMAN GRENIN



Text

JAY NORDLINGER

Contemporary Classical: A Listening

Sixty years ago, I was covering a concert at Carnegie Hall, whose program included a new work. A work by Bernstein, whose program included a new work. A work by Bernstein, whose program included a new work. When it had ended, I leaned over to the Democratic across the aisle from me and said, “I’m sorry, but you’re not the ones who’ve been destroying the institutions that have defined this country. We stand in defense of what I meant.

NR certainly knew the type. It was the “perpetual-motion piece”

JUNE 12, 1987

At a speech before the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, Reagan tells the leader of the Soviet Union: “Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.”

AUGUST 4, 1987

The Federal Communications Commission repeals the Fairness Doctrine, which required broadcasters to provide “balanced” approaches to controversial topics. Its elimination opens the way for conservatives to dominate talk radio. One year later, Rush Limbaugh enters syndication.

OCTOBER 23, 1987

The Senate votes down Robert Bork’s nomination to the Supreme Court, giving birth to a new era of politicized confirmation hearings. In his place, Reagan nominates Anthony Kennedy, who becomes the swing vote in the most contentious court cases of the next three decades.

NOVEMBER 9, 1989



After partitioning Berlin for nearly four decades—and serving as the world’s most powerful metaphor for the divisions between Western freedom and Communist tyranny—the Berlin Wall finally comes down. Germany soon reunifies under democratic government.

as I sometimes call it, or the “frenetic piece.” Busy busy busy. There is a lot of intellectualism in music today, and less inspiration. Brainy people choose to compose. They could be doctors, There are other standard types, too.

There’s the sci-fi piece, with glubs and glurps and other such lawyers—even scientists—but they choose to compose. Which is sounds. Relatedly, you have the spooky-jungle piece, with hoots too bad: They’re brainier than they are musical. I don’t know what and growls and so on. Then there’s the end-of-the-world piece—Bruckner would have scored on his SAT. I do know he was a genius. very popular. The post-apocalypse piece, the “bleakscape,” as I I also know that there’s a lot of pretending among critics and have termed it. You also have the cinematic, Disneyesque piece, others. They pretend that dreck—especially atonal or politics-filled with swells and tinkles. tinged dreck—is high art. They have either drunk the Kool-Aid,

All of these pieces tend to be loaded with percussion. Music because life is easier that way, or they know better but are terrible historians of the future might label our age “The Age of Per-fied to be thought square. On a naked emperor, people see, or cussion.” I often say, “Today’s music has more pots and pans pretend to see, fine robes. than Williams-Sonoma.”

A herd mentality exists in classical music, as in other fields. worth listening to, among today’s composers?” In 2009, I put Composers are loath to stray too far from their fellows. People this question to Lorin Maazel, the late conductor (who was also say that all Vivaldi concertos sound alike. That’s not true, but a composer). Immediately, he said, “Penderecki.” Then he said, if it were, they’d have the excuse of having been written by “Um . . . well . . .” He paused for a long time, smiling at me. He was saying, in effect, *Pickin’s are slim, aren’t they?* Later, he

There are other types I could mention, including the environmental piece, the global-warming piece: I call them “greenpieces.”

Let me not be too dismissive or snotty: There is good musicpiece by him. I thought it had a chance of making the standard, about. But we may be in something of a drought, greatness- or semi-standard, repertoire. I was able to tell him so, too, as he wise. Who was the last great composer? Shostakovich, who was sitting behind me.

died in 1975? You will also get votes for Britten (d. 1976), Bernstein (d. 1990), and others.

“You can never tell who’s great or durable in your own age!” people exclaim, sometimes anxiously or angrily. The answer is: American composer who lived from 1913 to 2008). And a tone Sometimes you can, sometimes you can’t.

Arvo Pärt is a figure to be reckoned with, the genuine article. Michael Hersch, who, I must disclose, is a friend of mine, but Someone once said to me, “Who’s a good composer today, and who should not be penalized for that.

don’t say Arvo Pärt!” I think my questioner meant that too I also appreciate performers who roll their own: who compose many say Pärt. Well, I do too. Pärt is one of the holy minimal-their own music, as performers once did, before the splitists, i.e., practitioners of compositional minimalism who are between the performer and the composer set in (about a hundred inspired by religion. The grandes of regular old minimalism years ago). These include three pianists: Stephen Hough, Marc are still around, chiefly Philip Glass and Steve Reich. A few André Hamelin, and young Conrad Tao (b. 1994). Their music years ago, Glass composed his Violin Concerto No. 2, subtitled is good or less good. My point is that they’re composing, which “The American Four Seasons.” It is intelligent and ultimately musicians really ought to do. They’re in the game.

very moving.

Say this for the minimalists, if nothing else: During the second half of the 20th century, they helped keep tonality alive, while it was under assault. The serialists ruled the roost. Music is one way in which people express themselves. It (Practitioners of musical serialism.) Ned Rorem labeled them is also a way in which people praise God (and such praise has the “serial killers.” Some of them were talented and commendable. But Pierre Boulez, Elliott Carter, Roger Sessions (all of unkillable. Beauty, though it may be suppressed, is unkillable. them talented and commendable): Will anyone listen to their And genius will out.

music in the future? I have my doubts.

Most days, I don’t sweat the future of classical music, which

has been sweated forever: Charles Rosen, the pianist-scholar, while it was under assault. The serialists ruled the roost. Music is one way in which people express themselves. It (Practitioners of musical serialism.) Ned Rorem labeled them is also a way in which people praise God (and such praise has the “serial killers.” Some of them were talented and commendable. But Pierre Boulez, Elliott Carter, Roger Sessions (all of unkillable. Beauty, though it may be suppressed, is unkillable. them talented and commendable): Will anyone listen to their And genius will out.

But may more of it out, soon, please?

NR

Republican governor Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin signs a school-choice law under which poor Milwaukee students can use publicly funded vouchers to pay for private schooling. It becomes a model for education reformers.

OCTOBER 15, 1991

After a bitter fight, the Senate confirms Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court, where he becomes a stalwart member of the originalist bloc.



DECEMBER 26, 1991

The Cold War ends and the Soviet Union ceases to exist, as Mikhail Gorbachev resigns from the presidency and hands over nuclear launch codes to Russian president Boris Yeltsin. Says President George H. W. Bush: “This is a victory for democracy and freedom.”

APRIL 27, 1990

Vice President Dan Quayle delivers his “Murphy Brown” speech, criticizing the titular character of a popular television show for having a child out of wedlock. Democrats and Hollywood liberals respond with hysteria, and Quayle’s remarks become a seminal event in the culture wars.

MAY 19, 1992



DEIRDRE NANSEN McCLOSKEY



Text

The Great Enrichment

THE commercial bourgeoisie—the middle class of traders, inventors, and managers, the entrepreneur and the merchant, the inventor of carbon-fiber materials and the contractor remodeling your bathroom, the improver of automobiles in Toyota City and the supplier of spices in Newoo Delhi—is, on the whole, contrary to the conviction of the “clerisy” of artists and intellectuals, pretty good. Further, the modern world was made not by material causes, such as coal or exports or exploitation or imperialism or property rights or even good science, all of which have been spread in other cultures and other times. It was made by and about the bourgeoisie—by an explosion after 1800 in

ideas and a few institutional concepts, backed by a massive ideological shift toward market-tested betterment, on a large scale at first peculiar to northwestern Europe.

What made us rich are the ideas backing the system—usually but misleadingly called modern “capitalism”—in place since the year of European political revolutions, 1848. We should call the system “technological and institutional betterment at a frenetic pace, tested by unforced exchange among the parties involved.” Or “fantastically successful liberalism, in the old European sense, applied to trade and politics, as it was applied also to science and music and painting and literature.” The simplest version is “trade-tested progress.” Or maybe “innovationism”?

The greatly enriched world cannot be explained in any deep way by the accumulation of capital, despite what economists from the blessed Adam Smith through Karl Marx to Thomas Piketty have believed, and as the very word “capitalism” seems to imply. The word embodies a scientific mistake. Our riches did not come from piling brick on brick, or bachelor’s degree on bachelor’s degree, or bank balance on bank balance, but from piling idea on idea. The bricks, B.A.s, and bank balances—the “capital” accumulations—were of course necessary. But so were a labor force and liquid water and the arrow of time. Oxygen is necessary for a fire, but it does not provide an illuminating explanation of the Chicago Fire. Better: a long dry spell, the city’s wooden buildings, a strong wind from the southwest, and, if you disdain Irish immigrants, Mrs. O’Leary’s cow.

The modern world similarly cannot be explained by routine brick-piling, such as the Indian Ocean trade, English banking, canals, the British savings rate, the Atlantic slave trade, coal, natural resources, the enclosure movement, the exploitation of workers in Satanic mills, or the accumulation in European cities of capital, whether physical or human. Such materialist ways of means are too common in world history and, as explanation,

The upshot of the new ideas has been a gigantic improvement since 1848 for the poor, such as many of your ancestors and mine, now being fulfilled in China and India, of the same promise worldwide. It is a Great Enrichment for the poorest among us. Earlier prosperities had intermittently increased real income by double or even triple, 100 or 200 percent or so, only to fall back to the miserable \$3 a day typical of humans since the caves. But the Great Enrichment increased real income per head, in the face of a rise in the number of heads, by a factor of seven—by anything from 2,500 to 5,000 percent. The average American now earns \$130 each day; in the rest of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, citizens earn from

Deirdre Nansen McCloskey until this year taught economics, history, English, and communication at the University of Illinois at Chicago. The third volume of her Bourgeois Era trilogy, Bourgeois Equality: How Ideas, Not Capital or Institutions, Enriched the World, will be published in April.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1994

Conservatives defeat national-health-insurance legislation, as Senate majority leader George J. Mitchell, a Democrat, announces that Congress will stop pursuing what has been the top policy goal of President Bill Clinton.

NOVEMBER 8, 1994



Republicans capture the House of Representatives for the first time since 1952. Led by Georgia congressman Newt Gingrich, who becomes speaker, they propose a “Contract with America” that offers balanced budgets, tax cuts, lawsuit reform, and a return to federalism.

JANUARY 23, 1996



“The era of big government is over,” announces President Clinton, who goes on to work with Republicans on welfare reform and fiscal-discipline measures. Starting in 1998, the federal government enjoys four years of surpluses.

\$80 to \$110. The magnitude of the improvement stuns. Economists ideas in the society at large about such people and their better-and historians have no satisfactory explanation for it. Time to ments—in a word, liberalism, in all but the modern American rethink our materialist explanations of economies and histories. sense. The market-tested betterment, the Great Enrichment, was

Contrary to many voices of the Left and Right, the Great itself caused by a Scottish Enlightenment version of equality, a Enrichment has also not come at the cost of spirit. True, shall it new equality of legal rights and social dignity that made every profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own Tom, Dick, and Harriet a potential innovator. soul? But the riches in our present lives allow the sacred and These are controversial claims. They are, you see, optimistic. meaning-giving virtues of hope, faith, and transcendent love for For reasons I do not entirely understand, the clerisy after 1848 science or baseball or medicine or God to bulk larger than the pro-turned toward nationalism and socialism, and against liberalism. fane and practical virtues of prudence and temperance that are nec- It came to delight in ever-expanding, pessimistic catechisms essary among people living in extreme poverty. H. L. Mencken, no about the way we live now in our approximately liberal soci- softie, noted in 1917 à propos Jennie Gerhardt's and Sister Carrie's ties, whether the sin is a lack of temperance among the good fortune that, “with the rise from want to security, from fear to Victorian-era poor or an excess of carbon dioxide in the atmos- ease, comes an awakening of the finer perceptions, a widening of phere today. One could offset the pessimism, or so the leading the sympathies, a gradual unfolding of the delicate flower called lights imagined, by having faith in the anti-liberal utopias of the personality, an increased capacity for loving and living.” day, which have proven immensely popular. Prohibition.

The bettering ideas arose in northwestern Europe from a novel Radical environmentalism. The clerisy's pessimistic and utopian liberty and dignity that was slowly extended to all commoners books have sold millions.

(though admittedly we are still working on the project), among them the bourgeoisie. The new liberty and dignity resulted in a of syndicalism in factories and central planning for investment, startling revaluation by the society as a whole of the trading and of proliferating regulation for imagined but not factually docu-betterment in which the bourgeoisie specialized. The revaluation mented imperfections in the market, did not work. And most of was derived not from some ancient superiority of the Europeans the pessimistic scenarios about how we live now have proven to but from egalitarian accidents in their politics between Luther's be mistaken. Still they persist, in Senator Sanders and Mr. Trump, Reformation in 1517 and the American Constitution and the in Jeremy Corbyn in Britain and Marine Le Pen in France, and in French Revolution in 1789. The Leveller Richard Rumbold, fac- less sensational form in the low opinion that people across the ing his execution in 1685, declared, “I am sure there was no manpolitical spectrum hold about liberty and dignity.

born marked of God above another; for none comes into the world In the 18th century, certain members of the intellectual elite,

with a saddle on his back, neither any booted and spurred to ridesuch as Voltaire and Thomas Paine, courageously advocated for him.” Few in the crowd gathered to mock him would have agreed.liberties in trade and for the dignity that comes in the pursuit of

A century later, many would have. By now, almost everyone. betterment. During the 1830s and 1840s, however, a much

Along with the new equality came another leveling idea, coun- enlarged clerisy, mostly the sons of bourgeois fathers, began tering the rule of aristocrat or central planner: a “Bourgeois Deal.” sneering at the economic liberties and social dignities their In the first act, let a bourgeoisie try out in the marketplace herfathers were exercising so vigorously. The conservative side of proposed betterment, such as window screens or alternating- the clerisy, influenced by the Romantic movement, looked back current electricity or the little black dress. With a certain irritation, with nostalgia to an imagined Middle Ages free from the vulgarity she accepts as part of the deal the condition that in the second act of trade, a non-market golden age in which rents and stasis and some doubtless low-quality competitors will imitate her success, hierarchy prevailed. Such a vision of olden times fit well with the driving down the price of screens, electricity, and dresses. But if Right's perch in the ruling class, governing the mere residents. the society lets her in the first act have a go, enriching her for Later, under the influence of science, the Right seized upon social while, then, by the third act, the payoff from the deal is that she Darwinism and eugenics to devalue the liberty and dignity of will make you all rich. That's what happened, 1848 to the present.ordinary people and to elevate the nation's mission above the

In other words, what mattered were two levels of ideas: the mere individual, recommending, for example, colonialism and ideas for the betterments themselves (the electric motor, the air- compulsory sterilization and the cleansing power of war. plane, the stock market), dreamed up in the heads of the new On the left, meanwhile, the radical intellectuals and elites—also entrepreneurs drawn from the ranks of ordinary people; and the influenced by Romanticism and then by their own scientificistic

OCTOBER 7, 1996



Fox News Channel goes on the air. It becomes the third provider of round-the-clock cable news, after CNN and MSNBC, and promises a “fair and balanced” approach. By 2002, it is America’s most popular cable news channel.

NOVEMBER 5, 1996

California voters pass Proposition 209, banning racial preferences in public employment, contracting, and university admissions. The initiative inspires a handful of other states to follow suit.

NOVEMBER 7, 2000



George W. Bush, the Republican governor of Texas, wins the presidential election over Vice President Al Gore, a Democrat. The race is so close in the swing state of Florida that it takes the intervention of the Supreme Court on December 12 to confirm Bush's victory.

materialism—developed the illiberal idea that ideas do not matter. What matters to progress, the Left declared, is the unstoppable tide of history, aided (it declared further, contradicting the posed unstoppability) by editorials or protests or strikes or lutions directed at the ravenous bourgeoisie—such thrilling actions to be led, of course, by the intellectuals themselves. Later, in European socialism and American Progressivism, the Left proposed to defeat bourgeois monopolies in meat and and steel by gathering under regulation or syndicalism or planning or collectivization all the monopolies, merging them into one supreme monopoly called the State. In 1965, the Italian Bruno Leoni (1913–1967) observed that “the creation of gigantic and generalized monopolies is [said by the Left to be] probably a type of ‘remedy’ against so-called private ‘monopolies.’”

While all this deep thinking was roiling the clerisy of the commercial bourgeoisie—despised by the Right and the Left and by many in the middle, too, all of them thrilled by the romance of works such as *Main Kampf* and Lenin’s “What Is to Be Done?”—created the Great Enrichment and the modern world, proving that both social Darwinism and economic Marxism were mistaken. The genetically inferior races and classes and ethnicities and genders proved not to be so. They proved to be creative. The exploited proletariat was not immiserated. It was enriched.

In its enthusiasm for the materialist but deeply erroneous pseudo-discoveries of the 19th century—nationalism, socialism, Benthamite utilitarianism, hopeless Malthusianism, Comtean positivism, neo-positivism, legal positivism, elitist Romanticism, inverted Hegelianism, Freudianism, phrenology, homophobia, historical materialism, hopeful Communism, leftist anarchism, communitarianism, social Darwinism, “scientific” racism, racial history, theorized imperialism, apartheid, eugenics, tests of statistical significance, geographic determinism, gender determinism, institutionalism, intelligence quotients, social engineering, slum clearance, Progressive regulation, cameralist civil service, the rule of experts, and a cynicism about the force of ethical ideas—the clerisy mislaid its earlier commitment to a free and dignified common people. It forgot the main, one proven, social discovery of the 19th century: Ordinary men and women do not need to be nudged or planned from above and English conception of liberty, or that it would succeed when honored and left alone become immensely creative. “In practical terms. The American experiment could have failed in certain multitudes,” sang the democratic, American poet. He did so in number of ways.

The Great Enrichment, in short, came out of a novel, *Ayn Rand*—yet . . . it’s an awfully American-looking world out there, bourgeois, and anti-statist rhetoric that enriched the world. In the English-speaking nations, of course, Anglo-American liberalism as Adam Smith said, “allowing every man [and woman, details] to pursue his own interest his own way, upon the liberal political elements in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, etc., flatly socialist within recent memory and some-

SCOTT BARROW/CORBIS

SEPTEMBER 14, 2001



Standing in the rubble of the World Trade Center, President Bush speaks through a bullhorn. “I can’t hear you!” shouts a rescue worker. “I can hear you!” Bush replies. “The rest of the world hears you! And the people who knocked these buildings down will hear all of us soon!”



KEVIN D. WILLIAMSON

The Future Is Free



Text

HE battle cry of this magazine notwithstanding, there is no capital-H Hegelian History, and nothing—certainly not political liberty—is inevitable. It was far from inevitable that a congress of farmers and lawyers meeting in Philadelphia in the late 18th century would adopt as its creed the most radical interpretation of the already extra-

President Bush dedicates the Victims of Communism Memorial in Washington, D.C. “To the more than one hundred million victims of communism and to those who love liberty,” reads an inscription on the statue’s pedestal.

JUNE 12, 2007



JUNE 26, 2008



In *District of Columbia v. Heller*, a 5–4 majority of the Supreme Court rules that “the Second Amendment protects an individual right to possess a firearm unconnected with service in a militia, and to use that arm for traditionally lawful purposes.”

times openly Marxist, have been reconstituted along Clinton-Blair lines; the northern-European welfare states that became the material comfort of 21st-century capitalist life, the riotous Anglo-American Left's model of progress after the disgrace of abundance of the Walmart Supercenter. You need a little political socialism have gone through 20 years of spasmodic reform along ical theory and a little economics to understand the connection lines that could have been (and sometimes were) dreamed up by between well-ordered liberty and the facts of actual human Newt Gingrich; we should have no illusions about the character happiness and actual human flourishing, which is why we con- of the regime in Beijing, but capitalism with Chinese charac- servatives are always at a slight disadvantage in the popular teristics looks every year more like capitalism, period; the versation: Understanding things such as comparative advantage great free-market reformer of the last days of the 20th century and gains from trade is not all that difficult, but it is a hell of a was a bearded fellow in a blue turban working in New Delhi; lot more difficult than "Here's a kitten! It's a nice kitten! Don't from Santiago to Seoul, American expectations about freedom you want to be nice to the nice kitten?" And that is essentially of speech, freedom of the press, etc., are the norms against which the Left's political program, which is, admittedly, a big step up policies are measured, even when, as in the recent case of South from putting the bourgeoisie into prison camps. Korea, some political trends are moving in the wrong direction. Thus we have the very strange phenomenon of young people

That South Korean example is telling in an important way: using Apple products to take to Facebook and Twitter to com- When the governments of Park Geun-hye and Lee Myung-bak plain about the evil of capitalism, of people who take interna- invoked a 1940s national-security law to harass their political tional travel to be the highest form of consumption and yet opponents—going so far as to dissolve a left-wing party—the despair that the sneakers on sale at Macy's have traveled interna- complaints, which came from across the political spectrum, tionally, too. But we should not be too worried about the postur- weren't that this sort of action was illiberal, that it failed to liveing of the Occupy gang or the ambitions of an Elizabeth Warren up to the example set in the West, but rather that the action was or a Bernie Sanders: Nobody is having a serious conversation anachronistic. Thomas Jefferson's radicalism is just how the about getting rid of what we cannot really imagine living without. Anti-capitalist talk is the New Year's resolution of politics: world is now.

The civilized world, anyway. Anglo-American liberalism may not have the Mandate of Heaven or History or Whatever, but it certainly has been blessed in its rivals: the revolutionary terror of Robespierre, Lenin, and Pol Pot; mass-murdering Fascism and mass-murdering Communism; the torpor and stagnation of Caudillo autocracy; most recently, the worldwide atrocities of totalitarian Islam. For human beings who wish to live as human beings, Anglo-American liberalism, or some near variant of it, has been winning by default for more than a century now.

Contra George W. Bush's overly sunny assessment, the desire for freedom does not reside in every human heart; some human hearts are very deeply etched with a desire to take a machete toof government is seldom used in the rest of the world, and where the Tutsi or to liquidate the kulaks. But if there is something thatthere is liberty the Westminster system prevails much more frequently. The form and structure of government is of course more miserable, and vulnerable. The perennial error of the Left is its than incidental, but what came out of the American Revolution belief that the blessings of American life come from democracy, and the subsequent contest was more fundamental than that: It which is only a procedural necessity. The messy fact, never quite sorted out in our Protestant national soul, is that the material blessings of American life—the splendid vulgar excess of Donald Trump and reeliners with built-in oversized cup-holders—come from the same source as the nobler blessings that have left us to live in tents. That's just how the world is, and the prospects of free and at peace to serve God as we judge best. In every generation, liberty are excellent because without liberty, life as we know it—

Why it's a package deal is almost always misunderstood, and

NR

FEBRUARY 19, 2009

Speaking from the floor of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, Rick Santelli of CNBC rails against the Obama administration's stimulus and bailout proposals. He calls for a new tea party, giving a name to an emerging movement that will soon influence conservative politics.

NOVEMBER 2, 2010

Republicans win control of the House of Representatives, providing a vital check on strident Democratic ambitions. President Obama calls the Democratic defeat "a shellacking."

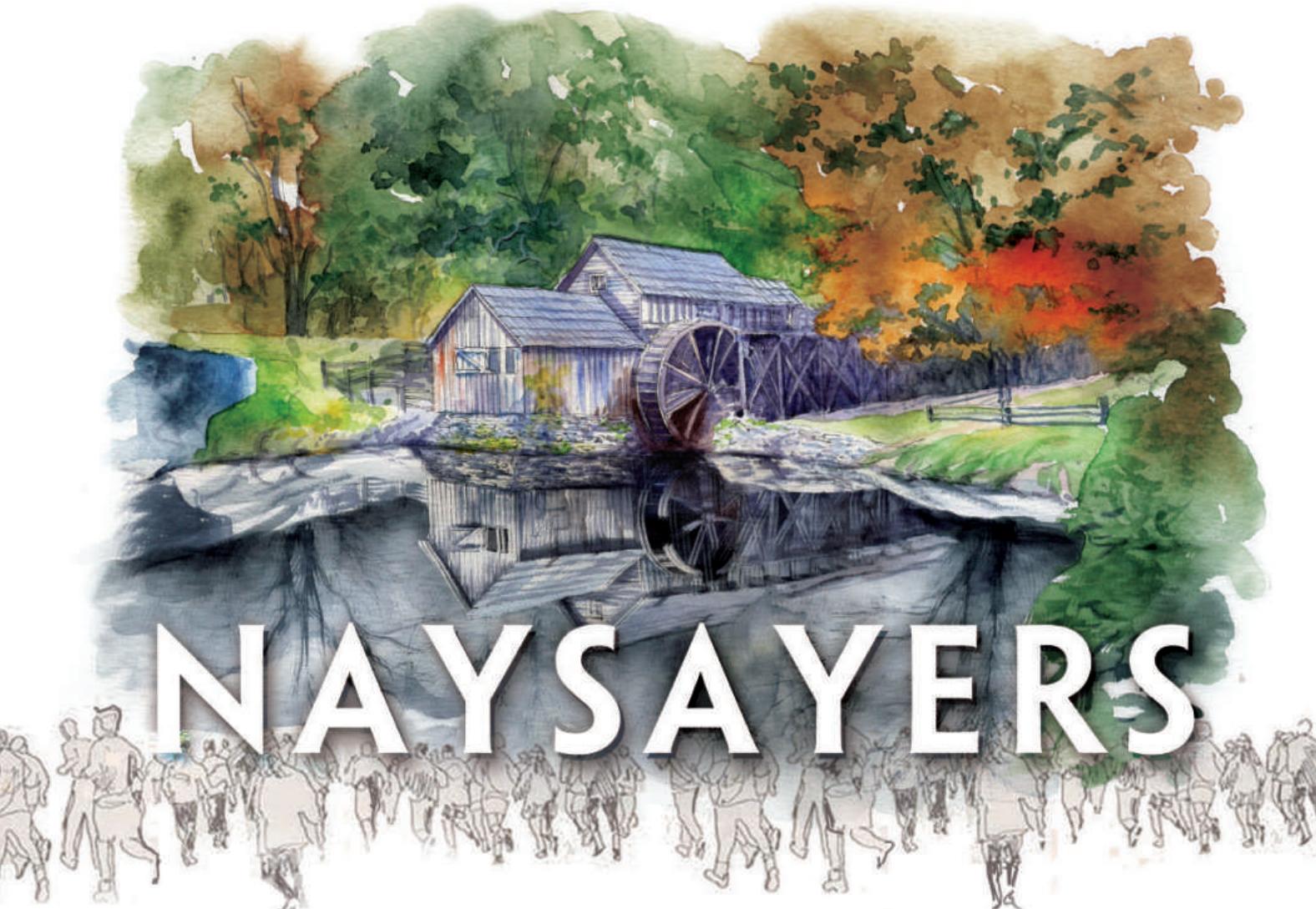
JUNE 30, 2014

In *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby*, a 5–4 majority of the Supreme Court upholds the principle of religious freedom, allowing some companies to reject federal mandates—in this case, a mandate to offer contraception to employees—on the basis of religious objections.

NOVEMBER 4, 2014



Republicans sweep the midterm elections, gaining control of the Senate, increasing their majority in the House, and achieving their strongest position in state governments since the 1920s.



NAYSAYERS

BY ORSON SCOTT CARD

ALVIN wasn't in much of a hurry, or he and Arthur Stuart would've jumped over Turkey Creek and continued on their way. But Alvin was using this trip to quiz young Arthur on his times tables. Or debating Cuvier's theory of catastrophism and how it stacked up to uniformitarianism. Or the poor crop of candidates for the upcoming presidential election.

So they was poking along about three miles away from Lake Erie, where the farms were fewer and the woods sometimes came right up to both sides of a creek. Even now, late in August, there was a brisk flow of water in Turkey Creek, and just as Alvin was thinking, This would make a pretty dependable mill race, they came out of the trees and right where it ought to be, there was a mill.

In 1965, NATIONAL REVIEW published "Harrison Bergeron," Kurt Vonnegut's dystopian story about forced equality. Harking back to that milestone, this issue presents a new story by Orson Scott Card, the author of Ender's Game and many other books. Mr. Card's story continues his six-volume series *The Tales of Alvin Maker*, an epic fantasy of the American frontier.

Except it wasn't, not anymore, because the wheel was gone. But everything else was right, including the diversion dam and the channel to carry the water with all its force over the non-existent wheel.

"Use to be a working mill," said Arthur Stuart. "Cause there's the pieces of the wheel."

It was a dirty piece of destruction, all the spokes and blades broken up and half burnt. "Looks like somebody didn't like this miller and made sure to put him out of business," said Arthur Stuart.

Alvin couldn't argue. But the sun was getting low, and they couldn't see a town nearby, and either somebody was living in that millhouse or they wasn't, but Alvin knew that if he told them he was a miller's son, there'd be a place for him and Arthur Stuart to spend the night.

There was a place, but there wasn't a soul to ask, so they accepted the roof and walls as if nature had made them, and ate a bit of the bread and cheese they'd earned by fixing a busted axle over on the downs near Walnut Creek at noontime.

Like usual, the hardest part about the job had been to get the wagon's owner to go away long enough that Alvin could fix the

thing without the fellow seeing how he did it, since folks often got themselves in a lather about it if they got to think Alvin was doing it by hexery. You trying to put a curse on me and my trade?

Alvin could never get folks to understand that what he did wasn't magicking, it was just getting his doodlebug inside the axle and lining things up so they held together nice and tight and the hubs would turn on the axle nice and smooth. It wasn't a curse or even a prayer, it was just letting the iron and the wood know what was needed and helping them get it done. Seemed like the more Alvin tried to explain it, the more upset they got.

So nowadays, it was Arthur Stuart's job to pretend to twist his ankle or retch or start batting away imaginary wasps or something, and while their back was turned Alvin would stand there not moving a muscle while his doodlebug showed him how things was, and by the time they came back the job was done. "It wasn't as broke as you thought it was," said Alvin. "It was pretty easy to get it back in line, and I'm thinking it'll hold up at least long enough to get you home."

Truth was, when Alvin fixed something made of metal, it wasn't going to wear out or break again till long after the owner was dead. But that was certainly long enough to get the man home to his family, and Alvin figured it was all right to accept the man's offer of the food he had left over from his journey, seeing how he'd be home in Girard before nightfall.

In the morning they finished the bread and cheese and Alvin was all for going on their way, because he had an idea of getting up into the mountains so he could come down again in the Hio Valley and maybe call in at Hatrack River and see how Peggy was doing.

But instead Arthur Stuart starts laughing and Alvin says what's so funny, and Arthur Stuart says you know you can't go on until you find out what happened to this mill so let's just get started and not pretend to discuss whether or not to ask around.

That's why they walked on downstream and passed two more mills, both done the same way as the first one, and not a farmhouse standing anywhere near to Turkey Creek even though it was clean water and only a fool builds his house so he has to haul water any farther than he needs to.

Finally they came to a fine-looking brick building that was not and never had been a mill. In fact it had that look of substance that said it was meant to be either a bank or a school. But it was neither.

"This is the town jail now," said the man at the door, "and you got no business here."

"Jail? You got all the criminals in Irrakwa locked up in here? Bigger than any jail I ever seen, and I been to Philadelphia and Kingstown, Carthage and Dekane."

"Well it's bigger than we need, all right," said the man at the door, "seeing it was built to be a college, but it's a jail now, and there's enough folks locked up here for public safety that we don't wish it any smaller."

"I'm sorry to hear of a college that failed," said Alvin. "My wife's a schoolteacher and—"

"Never said it failed," said the man at the door. "It just moved."

Arthur Stuart laughed. "If it moved, how come it's still here?"

"You know it ain't legal to own no black child in Irrakwa," said the man at the door.

"Then it's a good thing that Arthur Stuart here is free," said Alvin, "and my ward, and almost a man, so pretty soon I won't have to drag him along with me on my travels."

"He'd never find his way home without me," said Arthur Stuart.

"The college," said the man at the door, looking at Arthur Stuart as if he'd never seen an uppity half-black youth before, "has a new building about a half mile down, after that point of land and well away from the water."

"Away from the water?" asked Alvin. "Turkey Creek has a good flow, but we ain't that far from the source, so even with snowmelt and rain put together, I bet you never had a flood reached even as high as this . . . jail."

The man's eyes narrowed. "You a naysayer?" he asked.

"I don't know what you mean," said Alvin.

"Sometimes he says nay, and sometimes he says aye or yea," said Arthur Stuart. "And sometimes he makes sense, but it's pretty unpredictable."

"Just thinking you might be careful talking about how flood-water can only get this high or that high," said the man at the door. "Folks locked up inside, they're all naysayers. Do you get my drift?"

"I'm just a stranger as knows something about water in other places," said Alvin, "but I don't pretend to know anything about Turkey Creek apart from what my eyes tell me, so I'd be curious to find out what it is that misguided people might say nay to."

"It's scientist stuff," said the man at the door, "so you can't hardly expect to understand it."

"So it comes from the college," said Alvin.

"It comes from Professor Rea, him being the dean of the college, not to mention the world's foremost expert on how water gets called and how water gets shunned."

"Well, he's the man I want to meet," said Alvin.

"Too bad for you," said the man at the door, "cause he's off in Philadelphia right now, showing other scientists about his findings and warning them about the danger and all."

"Well, here I got my hopes up that I might learn something, and now I'm disappointed," said Alvin, with as much sincerity as he could muster. He made a little hand sign to let Arthur Stuart know that this would be a very bad time for him to make fun.

"I expect somebody else at the college might be able to explain it in terms that you can understand," said the man at the door.

Again, Alvin made the hand sign and for once Arthur Stuart obeyed him. Since people assuming they were uneducated yokels always set Arthur Stuart off like a mockingbird, Alvin figured it was the fact that this was now a jail for naysayers that prompted him to keep quiet.

In a few minutes they set out downstream toward the town, heeding the man's advice that they stay well away from Turkey Creek, because the ground was boggy and could suck a man's boots right off his feet.

"Sounds like they got a powerful fear of water around here," said Arthur Stuart.

"More like they got a powerful fear of folks who say 'nay,'" said Alvin. "As to water, I've had some pretty bad experiences with it myself, over the years, so I don't mock those as has respect for that element."

They crested the rise, and there before them was a little hamlet dominated by a new brick building which was still being built

around the backside, and which wasn't half so fine as the one now serving as a jail. But the houses and shops and the college itself were all well up the slope, while down nearer the water, Alvin could see where the foundations of houses used to be, and where level streets had grown only one summer's worth of grass.

"Folks went to a lot of trouble to make those streets down there," said Arthur Stuart, "where they can be flat and smooth. Nothing half so good up higher on the slope, and nothing level at all."

"They moved this village in a hurry," said Alvin, "and they moved it away from the water, so I think we need to find out what cataclysm they're expecting."

"Can't be another flood like Noah's," said Arthur Stuart, "cause it covered even the high ground, and besides, we still got rainbows so God's not going to flood the world again."

"I think you oughtn't to speculate on what can and can't be, lessen you get taken for a naysayer," said Alvin, and when Arthur Stuart whooped, Alvin said sternly, "Ain't joking now, lad."

They ate a bit at the only working tavern, paying with a bit of cash money since Alvin didn't want to take the time to earn his bread by labor. He wanted to find somebody to explain all that hard science to him, so he'd understand why they were afraid of a flood only a mile downstream from the source of Turkey Creek.

First person they ran into at the college was a genial old fellow who was overseeing the bricklayers on the east side of the building. "You'd think they imagined that the back of the building was invisible, the careless way they let the wall drift out of plumb and the bricks line up all higgledy-piggledy," said the

He wanted to find somebody to explain all that hard science to him, so he'd understand why they were afraid of a flood only a mile downstream from the source of Turkey Creek.

man once he and Alvin and Arthur Stuart was sitting on chairs in a decent-size lecture hall. "I'm Enos Walker," he said, "and no, it's never Professor Walker, because there's only one professor at Rea College, and that's Professor Rea himself. I'm a mere lecturer and so you have the honor of calling me *Mister* Walker or even, if you're feeling neighborly, plain old Enos."

"We're just wondering how much you'd charge for a bit of lecturing today," said Alvin. "And by 'today' I mean here and now, and with luck no more than an hour's worth, or less."

"We're between school terms, and with all my scholars off helping with preparations for winter, I have time on my hands and language so welled up in my head that I'd be grateful for a chance to let some of it out, to relieve the pressure."

"I think he means there's no charge for talking," said Arthur Stuart.

"That is exactly what I mean, and I'm glad of a man who can say things straight out."

"That's Arthur Stuart for you," said Alvin. "And now he'll be silent and listen, I wager, while you explain to us why this town seems to think a deluge is coming, and anybody who doubts it gets tagged as a naysayer and plunked into a jail that used to be a college."

"Man at the jail said it was a science thing," said Arthur Stuart, "so I wonder if you lecture about the right kind of science."

"Well I don't," said Enos Walker, "because we only need one professor of elementology. My expertise is somewhere between mathematics and metaphysics."

"Not much overlap there," said Alvin.

"None at all," said Enos. "Like I said, I'm somewhere between them, and not properly inside either one. But I do know enough about Professor Rea's science to explain what he's been warning folks about."

"I hope it's simple enough for me to understand," said Alvin.

"Oh, my version of it is simple, all right," said Enos. "I'll be interested to see what you make of it."

And it was pretty simple. It seemed that Professor Rea had discovered a theory, which he was now certain was an absolute fact, that when mills ran on water power, they called to the water and brought on terrible floods. So mills were declared to be a danger to anyone living near any water that they drew power from.

"So that's why all the wheels were taken off the mills on Turkey Creek and broken up and burnt," said Arthur Stuart.

"Professor Rea never said to do any damage to anybody's property," said Enos Walker. "In fact, he said that the mills on Turkey Creek had already done so much harm that it would be a hundred years at least before the danger of mill-made flooding would be gone, so there was hardly any point in taking them down, as long as they weren't turning anymore."

Alvin nodded.

Arthur Stuart chuckled a little.

"Nothing funny here," said Alvin.

"I was just thinking," said Arthur Stuart, "that it's a dang good thing nobody around here knows that you're a miller's son."

"Well, now Enos Walker, lecturer, is privy to that information, thanks to you and your mouth," said Alvin cheerfully.

"But Enos Walker, lecturer, doesn't believe a word of Professor Rea's theory about mill-invited flooding, so he's not likely to accuse you of anything," said Arthur Stuart.

Enos Walker raised an eyebrow. "In these parts, where Professor Rea is so well respected, it can be a perilous thing to say that a man doesn't 'believe a word' of his hydrological theories."

"Wouldn't want to be a naysayer," said Arthur Stuart, still chuckling.

"I'm not a naysayer," said Enos Walker. "Though it might be that in private, I might admit to sometimes being a naythinker."

"You're a man of science," said Alvin. "You know that Professor Rea can't possibly have a lick of evidence."

"It's a remarkable thing," said Enos Walker. "His best evidence is the absence of evidence. Meaning that whenever anybody points out that there are a lot of mills on a lot of rivers that never had a flood of any size, he just shakes his head and looks worried and says, 'Things have built up dangerously far, I'm afraid. Dangerously far. When the flood breaks loose, there'll be hell to pay wherever men have built these monstrous watermills to torture the water, to enslave



the water. How it longs to break free and wreak havoc over the land!"

When he spoke for Professor Rea, his voice took on a different tone, and since Arthur Stuart was a perfect mimic, he repeated the whole speech word for word, and Enos Walker laughed. "You don't really sound like *him*," he said, "but you sound exactly like me trying to sound like him."

"So who's in that jail?" Alvin asked.

"Well, all the millers, of course, because they weren't even allowed to leave town. They're all bound over for trial, though the trial won't happen till the flood actually occurs, because until there's harm, there's no crime."

"Sounds like a life sentence," said Arthur Stuart. "Since I'm pretty sure that flood ain't coming."

"The rest in that jail are naysayers like you. Doesn't take much. Just a laugh or even a cough while Professor Rea is holding forth on the evils of 'damaging the balance of the elements with monstrous wheels stabbing into the hydrous heritage of humankind, three thousand times a day, a million times a year.'"

Arthur Stuart had to repeat that, too, only now he wasn't imitating Enos Walker, he was going for the voice that Walker seemed to be trying to imitate. "How do you do that?" asked Enos Walker, dabbing at his eyes. "You never met the man, you never heard him, but now you sound just like him."

"It's his knack," said Alvin.

"He imitates people's voices?"

"Much deeper than that," said Alvin. "Arthur Stuart never says so, but I think he understands the soul, and the voice just floats on top, so to speak."

"Mr. Walker," said Arthur Stuart, "since you know Professor Rea's theory doesn't hold water, so to speak, how can you keep silence and not correct him?"

Enos Walker nodded sadly. "I accept your accusation, my lad, and I confess my shame. I have a wife and two lovely daughters who are somewhat sought after by young men of this town. If I were to say my nays, I would lose my situation, so that even if by some oversight I were not locked up with the others, I would be forced to move elsewhere to seek my livelihood. I'd have no letter of recommendation to carry with me, and I'd have two weeping daughters and a scolding wife to contend with. So it is not fear of the jail that silences me, but weariness of life, weariness of my imagined life if I earned the lamentations and imprecations of that fearsome covey of females."

"I am delighted," said Arthur Stuart, "at how your language gets much more formal and buttside upmost when you're saying something that you know is perfectly dishonest."

"I try to teach the boy manners," said Alvin, "but seeing as how I haven't good manners myself, I fail regular."

"Here's how I see it," said Enos Walker. "Not one of Professor Rea's predictions has come true. Not a one. And people have gone to an enormous amount of trouble trying to prepare for those predictions to be fulfilled. Professor Rea has also forbidden the digging of wells, since pumps are as pernicious as mill wheels, so all these citizens will have to walk all the way to Turkey Creek every day and haul water. How long before the sheer weariness of it makes naysayers of them all?"

"People can go to a powerful lot of trouble for a pretty long time before they weary of it," said Alvin, "as long as they've got some kind of expert telling them they have no choice, and there's no other expert telling them that it's all just empty chinwag."

"But I can't speak against it," said Enos Walker, "because he's the expert on the elements, and I'm only a wanderer between math and metaphysics."

"So they all believe that *you* believe it," said Alvin, "because you go along with it."

"I and the other four teachers at this college," said Enos. "And when any men of science make a pilgrimage to this place, to learn at the professor's feet, they quickly realize that questions aren't welcomed here. It's an inconvenient thing, to be called a naysayer. So of course the regular folks here think that all the men of science are in agreement with Professor Rea."

Alvin smiled. "I respect your self-knowledge, sir," he said. "And I appreciate your dilemma, because when you're in the devil's pay, it's best not to contradict the devil's dogma."

"Oh, no," said Enos Walker, with a twinkle in his eye and an edge to his voice. "It's the naysayers who are all in the pay of a conspiracy of millers, to try to cause people to doubt the danger so the millers can go on laboring to bring the floodwaters down upon us."

"Without mills," said Alvin, "where do they grind their corn?"

"They take it farther by wagon, and it costs them more," said Enos Walker, "and a good many businesses are failing because people lack the money to pay for what they used to buy. And it's hard to sell land here, so far back from the creek, so when people leave, they leave with almost nothing."

"But that's only money," said Arthur Stuart, "and scientists and professors, they don't care about such things."

"They don't when their wife has a very rich father, as Professor Rea's wife has," said Enos Walker. "But mine doesn't."

"I'm a miller's son," said Alvin, "and I've traveled this land a bit. I never saw nor heard of a flood caused by mills. I'm also a journeyman blacksmith by trade, with my anvil in this poke I carry with me."

"Your arms and shoulders proclaimed your trade from the moment I saw you. Except that you don't have one arm markedly stronger than the other."

"I use my arms equally, so my shirtmakers don't have trouble with their measurements. And as a blacksmith, I'm right glad there's no elementologist claiming that smithery brings down lightning strikes."

Enos Walker leaned forward. "Keep that thought to yourself, sir," he said. "Because it's only a matter of time before he realizes that the other elements shouldn't be neglected."

"Here's what I think," said Alvin. "In fact, I'll make a prediction."

"As a blacksmith or a miller's son?"

"As a man of science," said Alvin, "because I'm a bit more learned than most folks think. Here's my prediction. There will never be a flood of Turkey Creek, mills or no mills. And people

'I daresay that wherever Professor Rea finds believers, and mills are shut and their waterwheels broken up, the water will cease to flow at all.'

will stop hauling water from Turkey Creek by tomorrow morning, and will all be moved away within a couple of weeks. This town will be empty, and this college will be out of business, and your daughters will have to go elsewhere to find eager young men, though I doubt they'll lack for offers wherever they go."

"An interesting prediction," said Enos Walker.

"I'll go farther. I daresay that wherever Professor Rea finds believers, and mills are shut and their waterwheels broken up, the water will cease to flow at all, until all the people of Irrakwa and the United States live in terror of a visit from the Professor, and will refuse to let him open up his mouth."

"I beg only to know the evidence that leads to your predictions," said Enos Walker.

"I think this man is a denier of every theory," said Arthur Stuart.

"All true men of science are skeptical," said Enos Walker.

"The difference between your Professor Rea and me," said Alvin, "is that he predicts what water is going to do at some vague future time, while I predict what 'm going to do while folks are sleeping in the town tonight."

Enos Walker looked as skeptical as a true man of science.

Alvin nodded to him, and passed his hand across the surface of the chair beside him. Then he caused water to condense out of the air onto the wooden seat of the chair until there was a bit of a puddle there.

Enos Walker raised an eyebrow.

Then Alvin caused the water to soak into the wood all at once, and it was instantly gone.

"I have a knack with voices," said Arthur Stuart, "and Alvin Maker has a knack with elements."

"Professor Rea and I work with the same subject matter," said Alvin, "though I don't believe he'd respect my credentials."

Enos Walker nodded gravely, then smiled. "Inconvenient as some of your predictions are to me personally, since moving is always hard work, it seems to me that even my wife can't blame me for causing my family to move away from a failed creek."

They took their leave of Enos Walker soon after, had supper in the tavern in the town, and then, when it was full dark, they walked out to the banks of the river.

Alvin's doodlebug felt its way upstream to the natural springs that gave rise to Turkey Creek. Then he plunged down into the bedrock, into the aquifer that fed the spring, and found a new channel for the water, bringing it to the surface where it would flow into Raccoon Creek, more than a mile to the east, and with a good rise of ground between them. Within a few minutes, the water in Turkey Creek slowed to a trickle, then a seep, then a series of puddles.

Only when the bed of the creek was dry did Alvin turn his attention to the college-turned-jail. He found all the locked doors and dissolved the locks so the doors wouldn't stay shut. But he sealed up the door where the guard slept, so he couldn't get out till somebody broke through the wall come morning.

Soon the prisoners discovered that their doors were open, and not long afterward they began to wander out through the back wall, where Alvin had peeled off the entire façade of brick. By morning, the prisoners would all be far to the west, having crossed Turkey Creek without dampening the soles of their shoes.

"This is hard on the folks downstream," said Arthur Stuart.

"If they want water, they can build a mill and call for it to come," said Alvin.

"It's not their fault that they believed in a fool who called himself a scientist."

"It's their fault when they believe in *anybody* whose predictions always fail, and whose ideas violate common sense and experience. It's their fault when they punish folks for a difference of opinion. And the lesson of not falling for every hoax that calls itself science will be worth more than what they'll lose on their property value."

Alvin Smith and Arthur Stuart went overland by night, and this time they moved with haste, hearing the greensong and running like the wind, faster than deer, as fast as Reds once ran these lands when they were forest down to the shores of the lake.

Over the next few weeks the stories reached them of a goodly town, which had a college in it, that had to be abandoned because Turkey Creek dried up one night and never had water in it again, not even when it rained. And the strangest thing of all, according to these tales, was the fact that the millers had already left the place, tearing down their waterwheels.

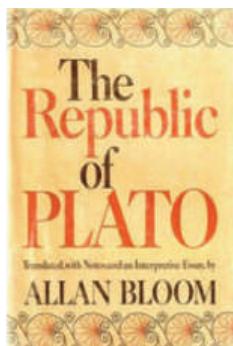
"So if you ever hear of millers deserting a steady stream, look to your wells!" said the gossips. "Because that's a stream that's going to fail, and a town that's going to die."

NR



Books That Shaped Our Minds

The reading of good books is an essential component of soulcraft. They don't just build the intellect and provide ammunition for arguments; they help shape our hearts and form our worldview. We asked some prominent conservative thinkers which books influenced them most.



William Kristol

The Republic of Plato, translated with notes and an interpretive essay by Allan Bloom (Basic, 512 pp., \$22)

In the fall of 1970, a freshman at Harvard with "sophomore standing" (easy to get in those days), I showed up for the first meeting of my sophomore tutorial in the government department. The teacher was a first-year assistant professor, Mark Blitz, and the six of us in the group were to spend the entire term reading Plato's *Republic*. Blitz told us to buy the Bloom translation and start reading Book One.

I remember opening the book in my dorm room the night before the next class, beginning to read Plato, making nothing much of it, and then turning to Bloom's interpretive essay—and seeing, really for the first time, what it was to read a text carefully. I went through the first few pages of Bloom's essay with an excitement and amazement I can still recall. One could say that it was the opening of an American mind.

In retrospect, I see that the unobtrusive education of my parents had prepared me for that moment. What's more,

Blitz was a terrific teacher, so it may be that I would have begun to learn to read Plato without the benefit of Bloom's essay. And the next year I took Harvey Mansfield's lecture course on the history of political philosophy; Mansfield dazzled and challenged from the podium in an incomparable way. But of the books I have encountered, I may well owe the most to what we students came to call *Bloom's Republic*.

Mr. Kristol is the editor of The Weekly Standard.

Heather Mac Donald

How to Do Things with Words,
by J. L. Austin (Harvard, 192 pp., \$24.50)

I ARRIVED at Cambridge University in 1978 with my head full of exceedingly odd propositions. There was no such thing as the human subject, for example—the self was just a rhetorical fiction, a mere linguistic construct. Any attempt at communicating meaning through words inevitably breaks down. Literature is only about itself. And the story that every poem or novel tells is of its own failure of signification.

These easily falsifiable propositions represented not the misfiring of my college education, but rather its complete triumph over my credulous self. I had just graduated from Yale, where I had been a passionate acolyte of "deconstruction," the French-derived literary theory then at its zenith.

After Cambridge, I intended to return to my alma mater to start a Ph.D. in comparative literature, ultimately hoping to join that empyrean realm of deconstructionist professors whom I had so revered as an undergraduate. As part of a Cambridge course in linguistics, I picked up a slender volume that opened thus:

What I shall have to say here is neither difficult nor contentious; the only merit I should like to claim for it is that of being true, at least in parts. . . . It was for too long the assumption of philosophers that the business of a "statement" can only be to "describe" some state of affairs, or to "state some fact," which it must do either truly or falsely.

Here was a completely different voice—lucid, ironic, conversational—from those I had encountered in my uncritical travails hacking through layers of deconstructive jargon. It belonged to the British analytic philosopher J. L. Austin, in *How to Do Things with Words* (1962). Austin was writing against positivistic philosophy, which held that language was primarily a means of making true or false statements about the world. Austin noticed that there are utterances to which the criteria of truth and falsity simply do not apply. If someone says "I take this woman to be my lawfully wedded wife" during a marriage ceremony, or "I name this ship the *Queen Elizabeth*" while smashing a bottle against its prow, he is not describing the world, he is changing it. His utterance, which Austin would label "performative," has actually brought about a new social reality—he has become married, or he has christened a ship.

Austin developed a nuanced typology of the things we can do with words. His understanding of language as a dynamic part of human reality was light years away from the hothouse wallowing in failure, meaninglessness, and muteness that deconstruction promoted. As important, Austin's linguistic investigations,

Austin developed a nuanced typology of the things we can do with words.

which came to be known as speech-act theory, were carefully empirical, unlike the ravings of deconstruction.

I did return to Yale's comparative-literature department after Cambridge. But now, when I listened to Paul de Man "deconstructing" the same passage of Proust for the 100th time, I heard only madness and ignorance about the actual power and complexity of language. I left the Ph.D. program after just one semester, shaken, my idols and my plans for the future overturned. But I had been liberated from what would have probably been a lifetime of delusion, for which I thank J. L. Austin.

Heather Mac Donald is a Thomas W. Smith fellow at the Manhattan Institute and a contributing editor of City Journal.

Arthur C. Brooks

The American Search for Economic Justice, by Peter McClelland

In the mid 1990s, I arrived at Cornell University to begin a Ph.D. in economics. At 31, having only recently resumed my atypical education after a “gap decade,” I lacked the liberal-arts background that many of my classmates possessed. I knew my technical economics but craved some understanding of the philosophical debates that I could detect lurking beneath the math.

That’s where Peter McClelland came in. The veteran professor of economic history was unusually generous with his time and happy to meet with curious students. It didn’t take long for a one-off meeting to turn into a regular breakfast. He fielded all my queries about how scholars defined concepts such as “freedom” and “fairness,” and introduced me to his book *The American Search for Economic Justice* which I devoured.

This book may not be familiar to many readers today. But after two decades in academia and the policy world, I have yet to find a better primer on the moral and philosophical debates that underlie the study of economics. It’s a tremendous book, treating arguments from all sides fairly. It served as a fine introduction to many important thinkers—including a handful of American Enterprise Institute all-stars. And it served as my diving board into the world of big ideas: positive freedom versus negative liberty; the Lockean roots of the American experiment; and the difference between equity and equality as moral priorities.

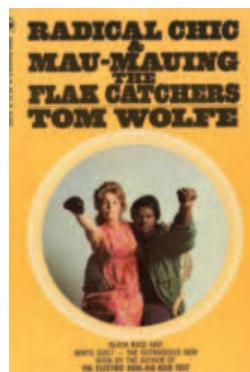
Most broadly, McClelland’s book highlights the importance of the competition of ideas. It shows how equally high-quality thinkers can think they are directly disagreeing, when they are actually moving in orthogonal planes and misunderstanding one another. Brilliant men and women can bring different moral presuppositions to a discussion and come away with conclusions that are opposite to each other but that are equally consistent with their premises.

Peter McClelland taught me one other invaluable lesson: humility. Years after I’d left Cornell to finish my Ph.D. elsewhere and had established myself as a professor,

I found myself in Ithaca and wanted to thank him in person. I was publishing frequently in the academic journals and writing fairly regularly for the *Wall Street Journal*, and I presumptuously expected to find him happy to see me. I navigated familiar hallways and knocked on Professor McClelland’s door. He answered and looked at me—zero recognition. I introduced myself and reminded him of our breakfasts. No memory whatsoever of me or these meetings. To be clear, there was nothing wrong with him; it was just that I hadn’t made much of an impression.

He was delighted to hear that his book had been useful to me, however, and gave me another copy. I gave it to one of my own students. I don’t remember which one.

Mr. Brooks is the president of the American Enterprise Institute and the author, most recently, of The Conservative Heart: How to Build a Fairer, Happier, and More Prosperous America.



Christopher Buckley

Radical Chic & Mau-Mauing the Flak-Catchers, by Tom Wolfe
(Picador, 144 pp., \$15)

B ook that most influenced me? Nice as it would be to say “The Bible,” that would be stretching it. And tempted as I am to say, “Up from Liberalism” or “The Unmaking of a Mayör”—both splendid books—that, too, would be a stretcher.

My dear old late dad, founder of NR, used to despair over my refusal, as a child, to read books. (As opposed to comic books, which I inhaled.) He actually bribed me to read *The Wizard of Oz*. When I was, like, ten. He may have paid as

much as five bucks, a fair chunk of change in 1962.

But to answer the question: *Radical Chic*, by Tom Wolfe.

It’s probably unnecessary to remind you that this was Wolfe’s dazzling and hilarious takedown of Leonard Bernstein and the party he gave at his 13-room Manhattan apartment to raise money for the Black Panthers Defense Fund. That was January 4, 1970, a date that will live forever in Liberal infamy. All the beautiful people and *bien-pensants* and *soi-disants* were present. When Wolfe’s account of the event hit the newsstands (it was first serialized in *Chicago Today* in early 1971), they looked a whole lot less beautiful and were surely *pensanting* less *bien* of themselves.

Just recently, Michael Lewis (*Liar’s Poker*, *Moneyball*, etc.) wrote a marvelous appreciation of Wolfe in *Vanity Fair*. Wolfe has called Lewis “probably the best current writer in this country,” so author and subject were perfectly matched. Lewis reminds us that it was Wolfe who made so many of my generation want to be writers in the first place. His brilliance was matched by the sheer zest with which he went after his prey. And into the bargain, he was one of us a conservative. Who’d a thunk it?

Mr. Buckley is the author of many books, including the forthcoming novel The Relic Master.

Steven F. Hayward

The Abolition of Man, by C. S. Lewis
(HarperOne, 128 pp., \$12.99)

I t is hard to single out just one book that decisively shaped my conservative outlook, especially since I was seemingly born “conservative by cell structure,” to borrow Whittaker Chambers’s phrase. NATIONAL REVIEW itself deserves much credit; I started reading NR in the eighth grade and kept it tucked in my back pocket as I passed out John Ashbrook “No Left Turns” buttons during the 1972 GOP primaries.

But I can point to one book that, at an early moment, deepened my philosophical conservatism: C. S. Lewis’s *The*

Abolition of Man. Still in high school, I became curious about Lewis's short preface to his anti-utopian novel *That Hideous Strength*, in which he said that the background teaching of the novel was explained in *Abolition*. In that book, published in 1943, Lewis deduced from some faint clues of contemporary literature what would become our descent into what we know today as postmodern nihilism. Lewis warned that the "fatal serialism of the modern imagination," its relentless moral reductionism that ends in total nihilism, would generate "men without chests." Our conquest of nature, he warned, would culminate in the conquest of *human* nature, which meant in practice the conquest of some men by other men. In other words, he foresaw the ideology of despotism, which could never remain soft or benevolent.

The Abolition of Man barely 100 pages long, culminates in a simple but elegant argument on behalf of natural law—nay, of human nature itself. Human nature is the most controversial and overarching political question of our time. (And perhaps we should start calling leftists

"human-nature deniers"?) Lewis reminds us, finally, that "a dogmatic belief in objective value is necessary to the very idea of a rule which is not a tyranny or an obedience which is not slavery."

Mr. Hayward is the Ronald Reagan Distinguished Visiting Professor at Pepperdine University's Graduate School of Public Policy.

Virginia Postrel

Knowledge and Decisions,
by Thomas Sowell (Basic, 422 pp., \$26)

ASKING me to name a book that has influenced my worldview is like asking Georges Seurat to name a color that was important to *A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte*. The problem is not just that there are so many. It's that the view emerges as much through their interactions as through their individual contributions.

I read Thomas Sowell's *Knowledge and Decisions* when I was a college student, shortly after its paperback publication in 1980. Sowell acknowledges on the first page his debt to F. A. Hayek's article "The Use of Knowledge in Society," but his exploration of dispersed knowledge and its implications for decision-making goes beyond Hayek's, bringing the analysis to bear on a wide array of economic and social puzzles: Why are small businesses typically financed by friends and family rather than by banks? Why did big-city political machines attract loyalty from immigrant voters who knew them to be corrupt?

And consider this Sowell observation, made all the more apt in the age of selfies: "Science and technology lead to far more complexity in producing cameras and film today, but that growing complexity among a handful of technicians permits far more simplicity (and ignorance) in the actual use of modern photographic equipment and materials by a mass of people."

Although *Knowledge and Decisions* is gracefully written and full of vivid examples, I originally found Sowell's careful



context is confidence.

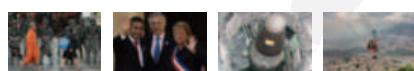
World Politics Review (WPR) provides uncompromising original analysis to help you better understand critical global trends. Written by a network of leading experts and on-the-ground influencers, our substantive content gives you access to comprehensive and detailed perspectives that are as valuable as they are uncommon.

“World Politics Review’s diverse range of contributors eschew partisan propaganda but not insightful analysis.”

— Richard Weitz,
Director Hudson Institute Center for Political-Military Analysis

Stay Informed of Critical Global Trends
With the Expert Analysis of WPR

What you get:



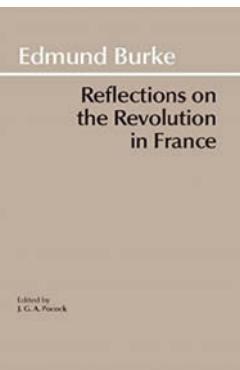
- Multiple pieces of original analysis every weekday, written by leading experts
- Weekly in-depth reports, including features and country reports
- Access to full archives of 8,000+ articles
- Daily links to must-read news, analysis and opinion from top sources, curated by editors
- Daily Associated Press wire stories, selected by editors
- Smartphone- and tablet-friendly website, iPhone app
- PDF versions of all articles for easy offline reading

Sign up for your FREE 2-week trial today:
about.worldpoliticsreview.com/national-review

parsing of abstract categories dense and difficult. When I reread the book in the mid 1990s, however, it seemed easy—because so many of its arguments had become integral to my own thinking.

Although the editors ask that I paint my thought in a single color, let me mention an essential complement: *Culture and Consumption* (1990), by anthropologist Grant McCracken. Economists take tastes as given, and the more they appreciate free markets, the more loath they are to consider where “subjective value” comes from. With so many social planners eager to substitute their own preferences for those of the diverse public, why raise the question? But McCracken insightfully and sympathetically explores how goods embody meanings that consumers value. His work influenced my own investigations of culture and consumption and bolstered my conviction that, as David Hume and Adam Smith knew long ago, examining why people buy the things they buy is essential to understanding life in a free, commercial society.

Virginia Postrel is a columnist for Bloomberg View and the author, most recently, of The Power of Glamour: Longing and the Art of Visual Persuasion.



Daniel Hannan

Reflections on the Revolution in France, by Edmund Burke (a number of editions in print)

I STILL remember the shock I felt when I was about halfway through Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. It was 1991, and I was spending an undergraduate summer meandering slowly from

Chicago to New Orleans when, in the middle of a passage about something else, I came across a glancing reference to France's “captive king.”

Stunned, I put the paperback down and stared round-eyed at my fellow Greyhound passengers. Until that moment, it had not properly hit me that the entire book, the most penetrating denunciation of revolutionary excess ever composed, had been written *before the Terror started*. As a piece of political prophecy, it stands unsurpassed.

Burke predicted the chaos, the repression, the arbitrary confiscations, the wanton executions, and even, with uncanny foresight, the Bonapartist dénouement:

In the weakness of one kind of authority, and in the fluctuation of all, the officers of an army will remain for some time mutinous and full of faction, until some popular general, who understands the art of conciliating the soldiery, and who possesses the true spirit of command, shall draw the eyes of all men upon himself. Armies will obey him on his personal account. . . . The moment in which that event shall happen, the person who commands the army is . . . the master of your whole republic.

There are never any prizes in politics for being right too early. Burke stood apart, an ascetic soothsayer, a lonely Irish prophet descrying a future invisible to his contemporaries. He was right about America, right about Ireland, right about India, and, outstandingly, right about France. As usually happens, his peers never properly forgave him.

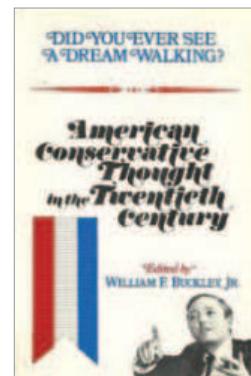
Only in retrospect do we glimpse the magnitude of his achievement. Burke remains the most eloquent critic of the rationalist modernism that has dominated political thinking from his time to ours. He saw the limits of planning; or, rather, he saw the necessity of the unplanned, the unreasoned, the organic.

Our age holds prejudice to be perhaps the most abominable of all sins. But the great Dubliner shows that life would become impossible if we tried to think through every new situation from first principles, disregarding both our own experience and the inherited wisdom of our people.

Burke wrote the manual for English-speaking rightists. Anglosphere conser-

vatism—cool, quizzical, empirical, ironic, restrained, an attitude rather than an ideology—has been a lot more benign than most foreign rightist doctrines. Such is his legacy; such our patrimony.

Mr. Hannan, the author of Inventing Freedom: How the English-Speaking Peoples Made the Modern World, is a columnist for the Washington Examiner and CapX.



Charles R. Kesler

Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?
American Conservative Thought
in the Twentieth Century,
edited by William F. Buckley Jr.

I READ this book in high school, or rather I read as much of it as my young mind could absorb. Actually, I read quite a bit more than I could absorb, which drove me to return to it again and again.

For Bill Buckley, it was an unusual project that must have cost him a lot of labor: a volume containing “quintessential samplings of conservative thought,” or as he put it more modestly, “an honest effort to transcribe one American conservative’s understanding of some of the recent sources of the illumination he lives by.”

Published in 1970 by Bobbs-Merrill as part of its American Heritage Series—an array of more than 70 anthologies meant for college use and covering all of American history (alas, I never got around to Senator George McGovern’s *Agri cultural Thought in the Twentieth Century*)—the book carried different titles in hardcover and paperback. The latter appeared in academic livery, titled “American Conservative Thought in the Twentieth Century.” The former sported

"Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?" at the top of the cover, with the sober, descriptive title second, and an odd picture of WFB gesticulating in the lower-right corner. I deduce that "Dream Walking" was Bill's choice, and "American Conservative Thought" the favorite title of the series editor, the formidable Leonard W. Levy. I never suspected that "Did You Ever See a Dream Walking?" was a popular song of the 1930s until, one sunny day at their house in Stamford, Pat started singing it and Bill joined in!

Under either title, the book was a terrific introduction to conservatism, not exactly a greatest-hits package or a best-of assortment but a stimulating collection of writers and thinkers who—whether agreeing or disagreeing—had influenced Bill. Since he practically was American conservatism at that point, the connection was vivid, exciting. Here were the great who happened to be his friends (e.g., Milton Friedman), his friends who happened to be great (e.g., James Burnham), early influences (e.g., Albert Jay Nock), later influences (e.g., Harry V. Jaffa), high-minded choices (e.g., John Courtney Murray, Leo Strauss, Michael Oakeshott), surprises (Jane Jacobs), and, of course, incipient apostates (Garry Wills). Only

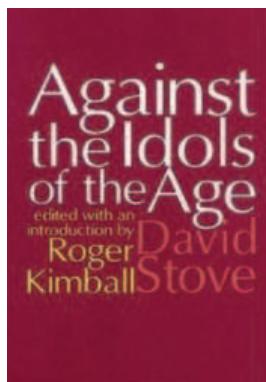
The book was a collection of writers and thinkers who had influenced WFB.

two contributors appeared twice: Nock and Whittaker Chambers.

Almost two decades later, I told Bill how much the book had meant to me and urged him to do a second edition, which led eventually to our sequel, *Keeping the Tablets: Modern American Conservative Thought* (1988). No song titles for us.

But the song had answered its own question, and anyone who knew Bill Buckley or his 1970 anthology would want to join in. "Did you ever see a dream walking? Well, I did."

Mr. Kesler, a professor of government and political science at Claremont McKenna College and Claremont Graduate University, is the editor of the Claremont Review of Books.



Roger Kimball

Against the Idols of the Age,
by David Stove, edited and with
an introduction by Roger Kimball
(Transaction, 347 pp., \$35.95)

ANYONE interested in ideas will fondly recall the intellectual excitement that comes with discovering a writer who opens up new avenues of insight. For most of us, such discoveries taper off with the end of college or graduate school. We

continue to read, stumble occasionally on excellent authors who had been hitherto unknown to us, but that frisson of discovery becomes rarer and rarer. It was with immense gratitude, then, that I first encountered the work of the Australian philosopher David Stove (1927–94) in 1996, when I had already achieved the venerable age of 40.

Among other things, Stove supplied some unanswerable arguments to bolster my longstanding prejudice against the work of Thomas "Mr. Paradigm Change" Kuhn. I had always suspected that there was something fishy about Kuhn's account of the way scientific theories develop. Stove showed that I didn't know the half of it. Kuhn had always denied that he was an irrationalist. But Stove showed that Kuhn's celebrated notion of "paradigm change" provided not an account but a repudiation of scientific development. Kuhn covertly substituted sociology and history for logic, thus winding up with a picture of science in which progress is illusory and no scientific theory can be said to be better or worse than another. Stove traced Kuhn's irrationalism back through Karl Popper's philoso-

Congratulations
to our client on
celebrating their
60th Anniversary



phy of science (another fishy specimen) and ultimately to Hume's skepticism about the cogency of inductive arguments.

Popper long ago became part of the intellectual atmosphere, his assumptions taken for granted even by those who hadn't read him. (The idea that a proposition isn't really scientific unless it is *falsifiable* is an especially popular bit of Popperism.) But Stove shows that Popper's philosophy of science is actually an efficient engine for generating irrational beliefs about what counts as scientific knowledge. At the center of Popper's thinking about the philosophy of science is a profound skepticism about the rationality of inductive reasoning. Popper was a deductivist: He dreamt of constructing a philosophy of science based solely on the resources of logic. He was also an empiricist: He admitted no source of knowledge beyond experience. As Stove shows, the combination of empiricism and deductivism is a prescription for irrationalism and cognitive impotence. An empiricist says that no propositions other than propositions about the observed can be a reason to believe a contingent proposition about the unobserved; an empiricist who is also a deductivist is forced to conclude that there can be no reasons *at all* to believe any contingent proposition about the unobserved.

Quite apart from being a devastatingly astute philosophical critic, Stove was one of the best and funniest philosophical writers in the history of the discipline. I know, I know: That is a large claim. But please, read a dozen pages of his work before suggesting that I exaggerate. I have made it easy for you by putting together a plump anthology of Stove's work called "Against the Idols of the Age." It includes a generous helping of Stove's work on irrationalism in the philosophy of science as well as key bits of his landmark attack on certain aspects of Darwinian theory (the work of the preposterous Richard Dawkins is a prominent target) and a generous sampling of his occasional essays.

Among educated persons today, any suggestion that aspects of Darwinian theory are suspect is instantly met with contempt, pity, derision—anything but a mind open to rational persuasion. Crackpot creationists are anti-Darwinian, ergo anyone who challenges Darwinian dogma must be a creationist, a crackpot, or both. This is not the place to rehearse Stove's

arguments; let me just plead that you reserve judgment until you read what Stove has to say.

When I tell you that one of Stove's essays is titled "The Intellectual Capacity of Women," and that its first sentence reads "I believe that the intellectual capacity of women is on the whole inferior to that of men," you will understand that David Stove was not a man who shied away from controversy. His work probably requires a trigger warning on today's campuses, but that is just one more reason it is worth reading.

Mr. Kimball is the publisher of Encounter Books and the editor of The New Criterion.

John J. Miller

The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945,
by George H. Nash (ISI, 660 pp., \$25)

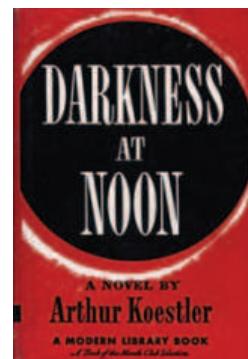
MEETING Russell Kirk was one of the great thrills of my early life as a conservative. I'd signed up for a weekend for college students at Kirk's home in Mecosta, Mich., sponsored by the Intercollegiate Studies Institute. We heard lectures on Edmund Burke, walked in the woods, and listened to ghost stories by candlelight. Kirk signed my copy of *The Conservative Mind*

The most important moment for me took place when Kirk held up a book with a blue jacket. "All of you must read this," he said. It was *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America since 1945*. The author, George H. Nash, was sitting next to me. When I got back to the University of Michigan, I checked out a copy from the library and read it cover to cover.

Up to then, I had not really understood why conservatives argued with one another so much. Wasn't it enough to fight the schemes of the Left? Couldn't the traditionalists, libertarians, and neo-conservatives just get along? Nash explained it all: the origins of their ideas, the major personalities behind them, and why they so often seemed to clash. And when I started to hear conservatives make their in-group references to immanentizing the eschaton, I actually knew what they meant.

I also discovered that I was an instinctive fusionist: a disciple of Frank S. Meyer and his school of ecumenical conservatism. It recognizes divisions on the right but seeks to make common cause as we struggle against the progressives who insist that it's possible to create heaven on earth—i.e., the utopians who strive to immanentize the eschaton.

Today, Nash is a friend. A quarter century ago, his book was a revelation.



Elliott Abrams

Darkness at Noon, by Arthur Koestler
(Scribner, 288 pp., \$16)

IT was in 1970 that, as a graduate student in London, I read *Darkness at Noon*. Of course I'd heard of the book and knew it had something to do with Russia and Stalin. But I was unprepared for the brilliance and depth of its understanding of human nature and political change.

College had left me with the knowledge that categories such as "good" and "bad" governments were far more complex than they seemed and often ambiguous. In developing societies, was corruption plain bad—or a sign of movement away from tribal loyalties toward a market economy? When was it defensible and in fact essential for a democracy to violate constitutional rights to crush a new movement, such as Nazism, that seemed likely to end democracy entirely?

There were many answers to these questions. But the Stalinist period and the Soviet system seemed so purely evil as to be incomprehensible: How could sane men commit such vast crimes, decade after decade? How could a Party that proclaimed its responsibilities to History and

the improvement of Man maintain the loyalties even of those whom it was crushing mercilessly?

And then I read Koestler. *Darkness at Noon* explained how it was possible for loyalties to deepen precisely as the crimes expanded—for only the deepest commitment to the Party's promise of Tomorrow could possibly justify the evil it was committing. And of course as years and decades went by, to have confronted any part of the truth would have meant that the official's life in the Party was monstrous and evil itself; so the requirements of sanity and the desire to avoid suicide led back to believing in the Party again.

For mere Party members (including those in the West), not up to their necks in blood, it was still the case that any crime could be excused or denied to keep the faith intact and to give meaning to their lives.

Sixty years after Koestler wrote his masterpiece, Natan Sharansky (once a prisoner in the Soviet Gulag himself) described in his book *The Case for Democracy* how in “fear societies” (as opposed to free ones) the mass of people engage in “doublethink” to survive: They know what they have been taught and must say publicly, but what they actually think is very different. Over time and in the face of reality, the number of double-thinkers will increase while the number of true believers diminishes, a phenomenon we saw in the Soviet Union and see now in China. This gives hope for change.

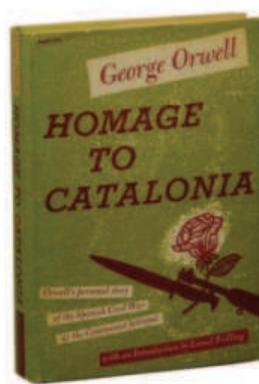
But there are always true believers, ready to commit and to justify any act of barbarism in the name of the movement, the Party, or the Leader. What Koestler explained was not only that they existed and would always exist, but that reality would lead them to deepen their commitments because in no other way could they justify their lives. The ends justified the means because nothing else possibly could.

The lesson was clear enough: The evil and inhumanity embodied by Communism had to be fought; it would not collapse of its own weight, nor would it lack for new generations of acolytes with thumbscrews.

And it was clear that only the United States had the resources to lead a military and political battle such as this successfully. Two years later, I was volunteering for the presidential campaign of Senator Henry M. “Scoop” Jackson, and then join-

ing his staff, and then Pat Moynihan's, and then Ronald Reagan's. No single volume pointed me that way, and by the mid 1970s Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* had also appeared, but Koestler's insights into the Stalinist system have never been surpassed.

Mr. Abrams is the senior fellow for Middle Eastern studies at the Council on Foreign Relations and the author of Tested by Zion: The Bush Administration and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.



Garry Kasparov

Homage to Catalonia, by George Orwell
(a number of editions in print)

I MIGHT hurt my reputation by saying I don't recall exactly when I read George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*, but I remember the impact it had on me very well. I am sure it was at the end of the 1980s, because I read it in Russian and such books had been banned in the USSR before perestroika. This was the moment in which Mikhail Gorbachev was desperately trying to save the Soviet Union by promising “socialism with a human face.” My reply at the time was that Frankenstein's monster also had a human face, and Orwell's book did much to clarify this for me. The book also has many memorable lines, such as “There are occasions when it pays better to fight and be beaten than not to fight at all.”

I was raised in a family of skeptics in Baku, so I had few illusions about the Soviet leadership. But the “good Lenin, bad Stalin” mindset was still pervasive, with its fairy tale that Communism could, with the right adjustments, be cleaned up

Savings on Cotton Comforts Better Way To Sleep

Pure Cotton Knit TeePJs™



Tee-PJs are not ordinary nightshirts. They are quality made in the U.S.A. with a special knit that moves as you move for the ultimate in sleeping and lounging comfort.

★ No bind ★ No bunch
★ No buttons ★ No side seams
Most comfortable sleeper you've ever worn or your money back!

Great for Ladies, too.
White or Soft Blue.
SIZES to fit 90-300 lbs.
Add \$2 per nightshirt for XXXL.
Specify man/lady and height/weight.
\$26.95 or 2 for 49.90 (Save \$4)

Long sleeve style (not shown)
\$30.95 or 2 for \$57.90 (Save \$4)

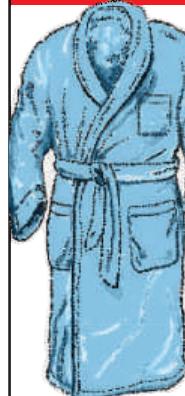
100% Cotton Knit SLEEP CAP

Holds in up to 40% of body heat the head can lose! Special knit “gives” to comfortably fit any head (man's or woman's); never constricts or binds... caresses your head with gentle warmth!

White, Soft Blue, Navy, Natural, Black, Pink or Burgundy
\$7.95 or 3 for only \$18.85 (Save \$5)



SAVE on this LUXURIOUS 100% COTTON TERRY ROBE



for MEN & LADIES

48" and 54" Lengths

WRAP YOURSELF in the plush luxury of this super soft and absorbent cotton terry robe.
16-oz. Terry Cloth!

Shawl collar style with full length sleeves, plus 3 pockets.
White or Soft Blue.
SIZES to fit 100-300 lbs.

We will select the best size when you specify: man/lady & height/weight.

48" Length - Only \$63.90
Order 2 and get Free Shipping!

Add \$4 for each XXL (Chest 50-54")

54" Length - Only \$69.90
Order 2 and get Free Shipping!

Add \$4 for each XXL (Chest 50-54")

GREAT FOR HIS & HER'S GIFTING!

SHIPPING/HANDLING: Under \$11...Add \$2.95
\$11-\$19...Add \$4.95 • \$19-\$31...Add \$6.95
\$10-\$58...Add \$8.95 • \$58-\$70...Add \$9.95
\$70-\$90...Add \$10.95 • \$90-\$124.99...Add \$11.95
Orders \$125 or more...FREE SHIPPING

 Cotton Comforts Since 1955

11570 SE Dixie Hwy, Hobe Sound, FL 33455

(Ship to FL add tax) **1-800-890-7232**

Send check or use Visa/MC/Discover/AMEX

Satisfaction Guaranteed - Our Policy Since 1955

HUGE SELECTION OF COTTON SLEEPWEAR, ROBES AND UNDERWEAR - www.nightshirt.com

and made to work for the people. *Homage to Catalonia* detailed how the USSR sabotaged its supposed socialist allies before and during the Spanish Civil War (1936–39). The viciousness of the betrayal—fighting harder against the Catalan Left than against Franco and thereby guaranteeing the Fascist victory—made it clear that Soviet socialism was about power alone. Orwell, fighting for the doomed Republican volunteers and nearly dying for the cause, showed keen intuition in analyzing the brutally cynical reality of the USSR—intuition that was confirmed when some of the Soviet archives were opened in the 1990s.

The horrific details of *The Gulag Archipelago*, the ingenious allegories of *Animal Farm* and *1984*, and the heroic storytelling of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* deserve honorable mentions in my development. But it was *Catalonia*'s first-person nonfiction that confirmed to me that the Communist system was designed from the start not to bring liberation to the masses but to establish totalitarian domination. It couldn't be reformed or humanized; it had to be destroyed.

Mr. Kasparov, chairman of the New York-based Human Rights Foundation, is the author of Winter Is Coming: Why Vladimir Putin and the Enemies of the Free World Must Be Stopped.

Natan Sharansky

“Reflections on Progress, Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom,”
an essay by Andrei Sakharov

HERE were many books that moved me during my years as a dissident and political prisoner in the Soviet Union. As a student I read Leon Uris's *Exodus*, which connected me to the Jewish people and its thousands of years of history. In prison, waiting for my trial, I devoured the classics, from *Antigone* and Xenophon's writings on Socrates to *Hamlet* and *Don Quixote*, which together gave me solace in the knowledge that men of all ages had faced the struggles I faced, and conquered their earthly fears in the name of higher principles.

Yet the work that most influenced my thinking and my life course was an essay,

the first written and circulated by prized scientist Andrei Sakharov in his journey from loyal Soviet citizen to outspoken critic of the regime. When this essay began circulating in the underground of the Moscow intelligentsia during the summer of 1968, I was myself a student in Russia's premier scientific academy, a rare accomplishment for a Jew. There we were encouraged to focus on the “eternal”—the laws of nature, the ideas of Newton—and not to worry about the changing world of ideology and politics. As I came increasingly to question the Communist regime, I found myself torn between pursuing a prestigious career in silence and openly following my conscience.

Sakharov, for his part, was by then the most highly esteemed scientist in the Soviet Union, and his essay, titled “Re-

Sakharov argued that there could be no scientific advancement without freedom of thought.

flections on Progress, Coexistence, and Intellectual Freedom,” sent shock waves through our community. In it, he argued that there could be no scientific advancement without freedom of thought, and that the free world had in fact paved the way for everything Soviet scientists had accomplished—that we were merely skiers following in others' tracks. It is hard to overstate how daring these words were at the time, and how electrifying their pronouncement. Here was someone at the pinnacle of our profession who could no longer hold his tongue about Soviet repression, and who was willing to risk everything to say what he believed.

Reading Sakharov's words, I realized that there was no future for the Communist system or its science. Even more important, his example showed me—and thousands like me—the triumph of truth over worldly success and even survival. He reminded us that the real eternal value is inner freedom, and helped us feel the exhilaration and deep relief of someone who had at last become free.

Mr. Sharansky is an Israeli author, politician, and human-rights activist who spent nine years in Soviet prisons.

William Voegeli

Up in the Old Hotel, by Joseph Mitchell
(Vintage, 736 pp., \$18)

WHEN the oldest, most important conservative publication asks a conservative writer to name a book that has influenced him, the implied preference is for a book about politics. I'm impressed, though, by something anti-political that William F. Buckley Jr. said at the dinner celebrating NATIONAL REVIEW's tenth anniversary: “I curse this century above all things for its having given all sentient beings very little alternative than to occupy themselves with politics.” This necessity frustrated “the homelier, and headier, pleasure of duty and restraint, of order and peace, of self-discipline and self-cultivation.” The idea that the space needed for a life well lived is made possible by politics, but that such a life is not necessarily devoted to politics, aligns with an observation Buckley sometimes quoted: Harold Nicolson, the English diplomat and writer, said that 99 people out of 100 are interesting . . . and the 100th, by virtue of being so unusual, is also kind of interesting.

A book that captures and conveys the sense that each of us has a walk-on role in many movies but is the star of our own smash hit is *Up in the Old Hotel*, by Joseph Mitchell. Published in 1992, four years before the author's death at the age of 87, *Hotel* gathers Mitchell's *New Yorker* articles from the 1930s through the 1960s. It portrays mid-century New York City from the bottom up and the middle out: street preachers, high-rise-construction workers, diner proprietors, and the man whose job title in the Bureau of Marine Fisheries of the New York State Conservation Department is Shellfish Protector.

With straightforward but beautifully measured language, Mitchell tells each one's story, imparting no political or moral lesson other than that everyone has a story. But that's a profound lesson. The people we meet in *Up in the Old Hotel* remind us that the crucial part of adhering to the ancient impera-

tive to know thyself is to remember that we dwell among other selves, who live and see their lives from the inside out. We owe it, both to them and to the aspiration to be “people on whom nothing is lost,” in Henry James’s phrase, to try to understand others’ lives from the outside in.

Joseph Mitchell had a story of his own. He seems to have been more confident that his subjects’ tales were worth writing than that they would be considered worth reading. A recent biography makes clear that Mitchell was not bashful about polishing quotes and presenting composite characters. When the extravagantly eccentric Joe Gould, the subject of his final story, turned out to be a fraud, Mitchell developed one of history’s most famous cases of writer’s block, going to the *New Yorker* office every workday for 30 years, but never turning in another piece. If one moral of his story is that Mitchell turned out to be a better writer than reporter, a more important one is that getting at certain truths requires going around rather than through the facts.

Mr. Voegeli is a senior editor of the Claremont Review of Books and the author of The Pity Party: A Mean-Spirited Diatribe against Liberal Compassion.



Armond White

Nashville, directed by Robert Altman

COINCIDENT with my undergraduate introduction to John Dos Passos’s *U.S.A.* trilogy, *Ragtime*, by E. L. Doctorow, appeared. Both represented

an idea of the Great American Novel—a work that encompassed true local experience and national self-awareness. But also coincidentally, Robert Altman’s *Nashville* premiered that same year, 1975. Thus, the Great American Movie laid waste to the notion of the Great American Novel.

I’d been prepared for *Nashville* by Altman’s *California Split* from the previous year. I was 21, discovering people from outside my native environment of various family and neighborhood events and college-life encounters (and pondering how I did or did not fit in). *California Split*’s roiling low-life atmosphere opened my eyes to *e pluribus unum*; its view of transient relationships confirmed my most sober existential suspicions. In *Nashville*, Altman expanded that awareness. Neither Dos Passos nor Doctorow had anything on Altman’s insight into America’s multiplicity—from humorous happenstance to devastating tragedy. The film’s 24 characters set a precedent, but it’s the singularity of each (Altman’s consistent theme of the individual within the community) that impressed. The film’s narrative clarity was amazing and insightful. As a moral and political way to look at the world, only D. W. Griffith’s four-part, global 1916 film *Intolerance* was comparable.

Nashville’s country-music setting provided a folkloric metric alongside the aesthetic breakthroughs of Altman’s wide-screen, all-encompassing imagery and his multitrack sound recording. (Every character has a distinct voice, updating the classic Greek chorus with an American chorus of autonomous members.) No other literary or audio-visual work is more vivifying. The film’s opening song, “(We Must Be Doing Something Right to Last) 200 Years,” wasn’t just a pre-bicentennial jape; it also anticipated post-9/11 dolldrums—the same genuine cynicism as the film’s closing song, “It Don’t Worry Me.”

Keeping multifarious America balanced was *Nashville*’s primary lesson—a life lesson I find useful today. When the film’s central figure, singer Barbara Jean (Ronee Blakley), recovered from a nervous breakdown, was shown reading Faulkner’s *Light in August*, it was all a literary film-lover

NATIONAL
REVIEW

on your
HISTORIC

60th

ANNIVERSARY



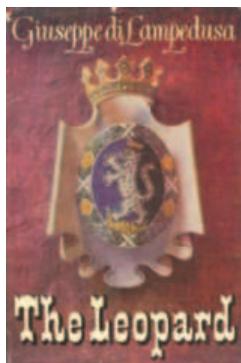
Bulkley Dunton

A BUSINESS OF VERITIV

► bulkleydunton.com

needed to confirm that *Nashville* was, indeed, the masterpiece that explained what the U.S., as social experiment and everyday Calvary, was all about.

Mr. White, a film critic for NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE, received the American Book Awards' Anti-Censorship Award. He is the author of The Resistance: Ten Years of Pop Culture That Shook the World and the forthcoming What We Don't Talk about When We Talk about the Movies.



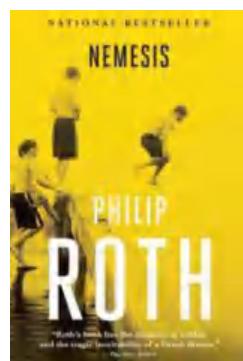
Wilfred M. McClay

The Leopard, by Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa (Pantheon, 336 pp., \$16)

DURING my time as a graduate student in history at Johns Hopkins, I was fortunate enough to get to know the historian John Lukacs, whose splendid (and still underappreciated) book *Historical Consciousness*, among his many other writings, served as a powerful antidote to the regnant diseases of modern historiography. It would be entirely appropriate to single out that book here, both because of its influence on me and because I am confident that its value will endure. But the greatest of Lukacs's gifts to me was his urgent recommendation that I read Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa's elegant novel, *Il Gattopardo* or *The Leopard*. I took his advice and have been the better for it ever since. As my friends can attest, I evangelize for the book all the time—and for the beautiful and remarkably faithful Visconti-directed film based on the book—and I even keep a small stack of paperback copies in my office to hand out to interested students.

*The Leopard*tells the story of a Sicilian aristocrat living at the time of the Risorgimento who finds himself engulfed by the tides of history, and it records in vivid detail his shrewd responses to those tides, along with his pessimism and his honest distaste for much of what that history was forcing him to accommodate. It is a Tocquevillian novel, descriptive of a Tocquevillian moment, one of those great historical junctures at which one social order gives way to another and every man and woman must figure out an honorable way forward through the chaos and uncharted territory of a brave new world, with its new slogans, new possibilities, new terrors, and new hypocrisies. Lampedusa wrote nothing else of similar scope, and *The Leopard*was not published until a year after his death. Yet this single novel is perfectly realized, with exquisite description, penetrating social analysis, and refined, haunting meditations on the human condition. It is a book every conservative should read, and ponder.

Mr. McClay holds the G. T. and Libby Blankenship Chair in the History of Liberty at the University of Oklahoma.



David Gelernter

Nemesis, by Philip Roth (Vintage, 304 pp., \$15.95)

PHILIP ROTH's short novel *Nemesis* appeared in 2010 and was widely praised, in ways that mainly missed a central point.

Roth says it is his last novel. Its parts fit together more beautifully than do those in any previous Roth work. (Usually Roth gives the impression of

starting with people and ambience and concocting a plot as he goes along.)

But the most compelling thing about *Nemesis* is how Roth, an aggressive atheist, has written a masterpiece of that most Jewish of all genres, the argument with God.

He has dedicated his career to insisting that he is a *social* Jew, a *secular* Zionist. He never claimed to know anything about Judaism except that it was ridiculous. In his early career, he published novels that offended practicing Jews of every stripe.

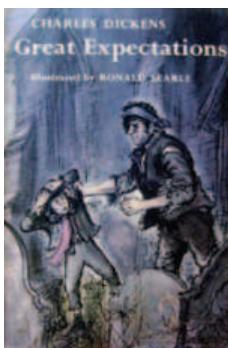
In this last novel, the hero is not terribly bright, not witty, trained as a phys-ed teacher; obsessed with doing what is good and right. For Roth in his old age, that

Roth, an aggressive atheist, has written a masterpiece of that most Jewish of all genres, the argument with God.

obsession is Judaism. In the summer of 1944, there is a polio epidemic in Newark. The hero is torn between joining his fiancée in the healthy mountains or staying with the playground boys he supervises in "equatorial Newark," where it is hot and dangerous—and the young boys in his charge are starting to catch polio and, in some cases, die. He joins his fiancée but hates himself, and imposes on himself an awful penance. He spends the rest of his life alone, struggling with God nearly hand to hand, a violent grudge match. To cripple innocent children? To kill innocent children? *That* is God's justice? There is a related argument in the Talmud in which God's response to these questions is "*Silence! That has occurred to me.*"

Roth brought at last to the religious question, Roth unable to leave God alone no matter how many times he has insisted that there is no God, Roth confronting, in a movingly beautiful way, the same question that Jonah and Job and Abraham confronted, Philip "Portnoy" Roth, is an awe-striking moment in modern literary history.

Mr. Gelernter is a professor of computer science at Yale University and a contributing editor of The Weekly Standard.



Brad Thor

Great Expectations, by Charles Dickens
(a number of editions in print)

CHOOSING one book that has had the greatest impact on me is no easy task. I read all the time, and many books have profoundly shaped who I am. In fact, as I write this, I am halfway through *Beyond Band of Brothers: The War Memoirs* Major Dick Winters, which is fantastic and has me looking at my own life in ways I never before imagined.

The book that has had the greatest impact on me, though, is *Great Expectations*, by Charles Dickens. Simply put: I love this book and it has resonated with me for decades: the characters, the lessons about human nature, and—believe it or not—even the lessons about business.

Those business lessons, in fact, played into my decision to move my family from Chicago to Nashville. Capital, as Dickens so wisely wrote, is “portable property.” It also represents freedom; the freedom to choose what you want to do, where you want to do it, and how you want to live your life.

Great Expectations is a wonderful novel packed with insight, laughter, joy, deceit, and consequence, all wrapped up with amazing and, I dare say, timeless, wisdom—of which, two lines are worth sharing here. The first is a reminder about summoning courage to do the right thing: “In a word, I was too cowardly to do what I knew to be right, as I had been too cowardly to avoid doing what I knew to be wrong.” The second is about avoiding deception: “Take nothing on its looks; take everything on evidence. There’s no better rule.”

Mr. Thor’s most recent novel is *Code of Conduct*.

P. J. O’Rourke

Lord of the Flies, by William Golding
(a number of editions in print)

I READ *Lord of the Flies* in the early 1960s, when I was about 15. The story of marooned schoolboys did not, at the time, have a beneficial effect on my thinking. I was irked and bored by Ralph, the Eagle Scout—exemplar of the political-leadership type. I felt the same contempt for Piggy, the symbolic intellectual, as his fellows did. I liked Jack and his Beast-propitiating tribe of colorful pig hunters.

Thus it’s no surprise that, later in the 1960s, I joined the chanting, dancing, face-painting, “Off the Capitalist Pig” primitivists of the counterculture.

But this turned out to be, in life as in literature, less fun and more scary than it was meant to be. The pig head on a stake began to smell, the way hippies did, and attract

The Jacks of the counterculture turned out to be not-very-nice people.

vermin, like Charles Manson. The Jacks of the counterculture—the Mark Rudds, the Bernardine Dohrns, the Bill Ayerses, even the Abbie Hoffmans—turned out to be not-very-nice people.

And then, on March 6, 1970, some of those not-very-nice people blew themselves up. They’d been trying to build a bomb in a townhouse on West 11th Street in Greenwich Village. The bomb was packed with nails and was going to be detonated at a dance for enlisted personnel at Fort Dix, N.J.

I went to New York and stood outside the police tape around the rubble at 18 West 11th—realizing, a little late, what *Lord of the Flies* was about.

The structure of civilization is as fragile as was the structure of that beautiful Greek Revival townhouse built in 1845. Built, incidentally, not by a political-leader Ralph or an intellectual Piggy, much less by any Jack-red-in-tooth-and-claw. It was built by Charles E. Merrill, founder of Merrill Lynch.

Mr. O’Rourke, a political satirist, is the H. L. Mencken Research Fellow at the Cato Institute and a writer for The Weekly Standard.

The Brightness Zooming Natural Light Lamp



Free Standard Shipping
when you order by December 31, 2015
with code 600732.

This is the only lamp with a light beam that widens or narrows to provide daylight-simulating illumination for hobbies or ambient lighting. Simply pulling the patent-pending shade adjusts the light beam to 711 different diameters between 3" and 31" when the lampshade is 12" away from the lighted surface. At maximum zoom, the 3"-diameter beam is 2½X brighter than a typical lamp, ideal for illuminating fine details of crafts, and the 31" beam provides optimal light for reading or ambient illumination. Its 50,000-hour rated LED generates crisp white illumination. With an adjustable 15½" gooseneck. 65" H x 9¾" Diam. (7 lbs.) Item 81960 \$119.95

1-800-543-3366
www.hammacher.com/lamp

Hammacher Schlemmer
Offering the Best, the Only and the Unexpected for 167 years.



Forward to The Future

ROSS DOUTHAT

LATE last month, American pop culture celebrated “Back to the Future Day”—marking the date, 10/21/2015, to which Marty McFly established by Reagan’s revolution still

Fly leaps forward from the Reagan ‘80s to the present day, *Back to the Future Part II*.

It was a slightly daft commemoration of a pleasant but hardly memorable year, and it felt almost like a wayward sequel, and it was from his parents’ 1950s, yet the gulf of years separating us from the Reagan 1980s as the teenager Marty was from his parents’ 1950s, a

30th anniversary: that we’re now as far from the Eisenhower era that the original film used to such great effect.

The power of the *Back to the Future* depended not just on an arbitrary 30-year period, that is, but on how radically America had changed across those decades: Marty’s adolescence and his parents’ courtship lay on opposite sides (among many other things) rock ‘n’ roll, civil rights, Vietnam, the sexual revolution, drug culture, the moon landing, feminism, the apocalyptic ’70s, and, finally, dramatic change.) In our religious controversies, where the bold, fresh, exciting

Whereas if you remained in the Western Christians are ready . . . to have the revolutions of the 1960s ushered in Jacques Barzun:

life without the iPhone, some shocking And then there’s pop culture itself. ItBarzun wrote these words in the late shoulder pads, and some sort of “comics” original*Back to the Future*, Marty 1990s; today it’s hard to imagine a better critique of Reagan-era unenlightenment. McFly invaded his father’s sleep dressed in the same theological debates we had in 1975. But you wouldn’t have the sense of visiting a past that’s been around since the 1940s and the 1970s. The 2015 promises to be about . . . That can last—especially in a society

Since NATIONAL REVIEW spans the Vader’s grandchildren. It will be directed by oceans from the mass migrations same 60 years as the McFly-family saga, a filmmaker who’s coming off reboots presently yanking a decadent Europe back through which to view our situation as landscape is defined by . . . the recycling threat or internal revival finally magazine turns (a youthful) 60. For NR’s comic-book properties developed by shapers in a different, more dynamic age. first 30 years, the history that William Buckley Jr. wanted to stand athwart fashion shows a similar repetition and particularly for American conservatism proceeded at a breakneck pace. But then, as Kurt Anderson pointed out times. In a less decadent era, our forewarning its second 30, and especially *Skinny Fair* several years ago:

Communism’s fall, there has been a general slowing, a sense of drift and repetition, a feeling that American society is somehow stuck in place. Not long ago . . . I came across an archival photograph of Ian Schrager and Steve Rubell with a dozen of their young, repetitious crawl, and it might be our mission to start it moving once again.



In the economic realm, what Tyler Cowen has called our “great stagnation” dress shirt had no collar and some of the can be quantified—in slow wage growth, hair on his male employees was a bit slow productivity growth, below-replacement fertility rates, slowing rates of innovation in non-Silicon Valley sectors. unfashionably fluffy, but no one in the picture looks obviously, laughably dated by today’s standards. . . . Yet if, in 1990 or 1980 or 1970, you’d examined a comparable picture from 27 years earlier—from 1963 and 1953 and 1943, respectively—it would be a glimpse back into an unmistakably different world.

But it’s readily apparent in non-political areas as well. In our politics, gridlock and dysfunction are the order of the day, and the battle lines established by Reagan’s revolution still

Global politics since the Cold War feels arguments, where we’re still having stagnation as well. We might have expected

wrestling matches—over abortion, or that by now we’d be locked in a race between China and Japan to colonize Mars—sequel, and it would be a glimpse back into an unstruck life balance, race and crime—that is, we weren’t recovering from the Eugenics Wars that the original *Trek* expected to arrive sometime in the 1990s. Instead, we’re dealing with issues (from an aggressive Russia to, yes, Libyan-linked terrorist groups) that Marty and “Doc” Brown would recognize immediately. (Though in fairness, we do make movies about colonizing Mars, and the special effects are excellent.)

The word for this kind of civilizational situation is “decadence.” Not the decadence of pure debauchery—there’s some of that available today, but public morals in the West probably hit bottom in the 1970s, not in our own era of stagnation.

Rather it’s decadence as defined by Jacques Barzun:

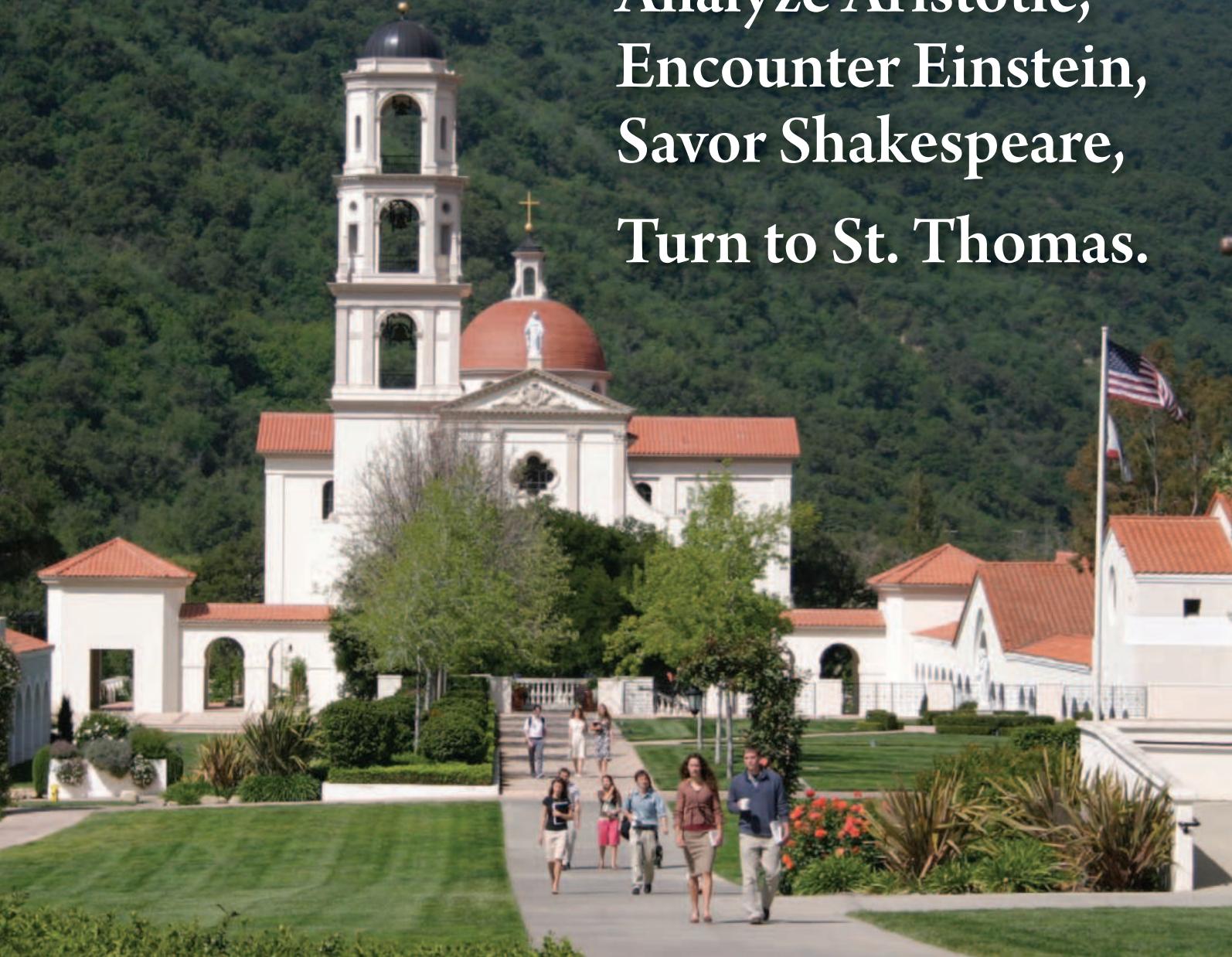
All that is meant by Decadence is “falling off.” . . . The forms of art as of life seem exhausted, the stages of development have been run through. Institutions function painfully. Repetition and frustration are the intolerable result.

Barzun wrote these words in the late 1990s; today it’s hard to imagine a better critique of Reagan-era unenlightenment. McFly invaded his father’s sleep dressed in the same theological debates we had in 1975. But you wouldn’t have the sense of visiting a past that’s been around since the 1940s and the 1970s. The 2015 promises to be about . . . That can last—especially in a society

which suggests an irony for Western conservatism. Even fashion shows a similar repetition and particularly for American conservatism proceeded at a breakneck pace. But then, as Kurt Anderson pointed out times. In a less decadent era, our forewarning its second 30, and especially *Skinny Fair* several years ago:

Others hoped to stop the march of history, to redirect its rushing course. In our era, history seems to have slowed to a depressing crawl, and it might be our mission to start it moving once again.

Analyze Aristotle,
Encounter Einstein,
Savor Shakespeare,
Turn to St. Thomas.



Interested in a college where students read and discuss the great books to learn the truth about nature, man, and God?

We would like to meet you. thomasaquinas.edu/welcome

THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE
Truth Matters



Nuclearly cleaner.



Nuclear energy plants account for more than 62% of our carbon-free energy. If we want to meet our carbon-reduction goals, we need policymakers to support policies that will keep America's state-of-the-art nuclear energy plants working for all of us. Join us at NuclearMatters.com.

It's abundantly clear, America needs nuclear.

NUCLEAR MATTERS 